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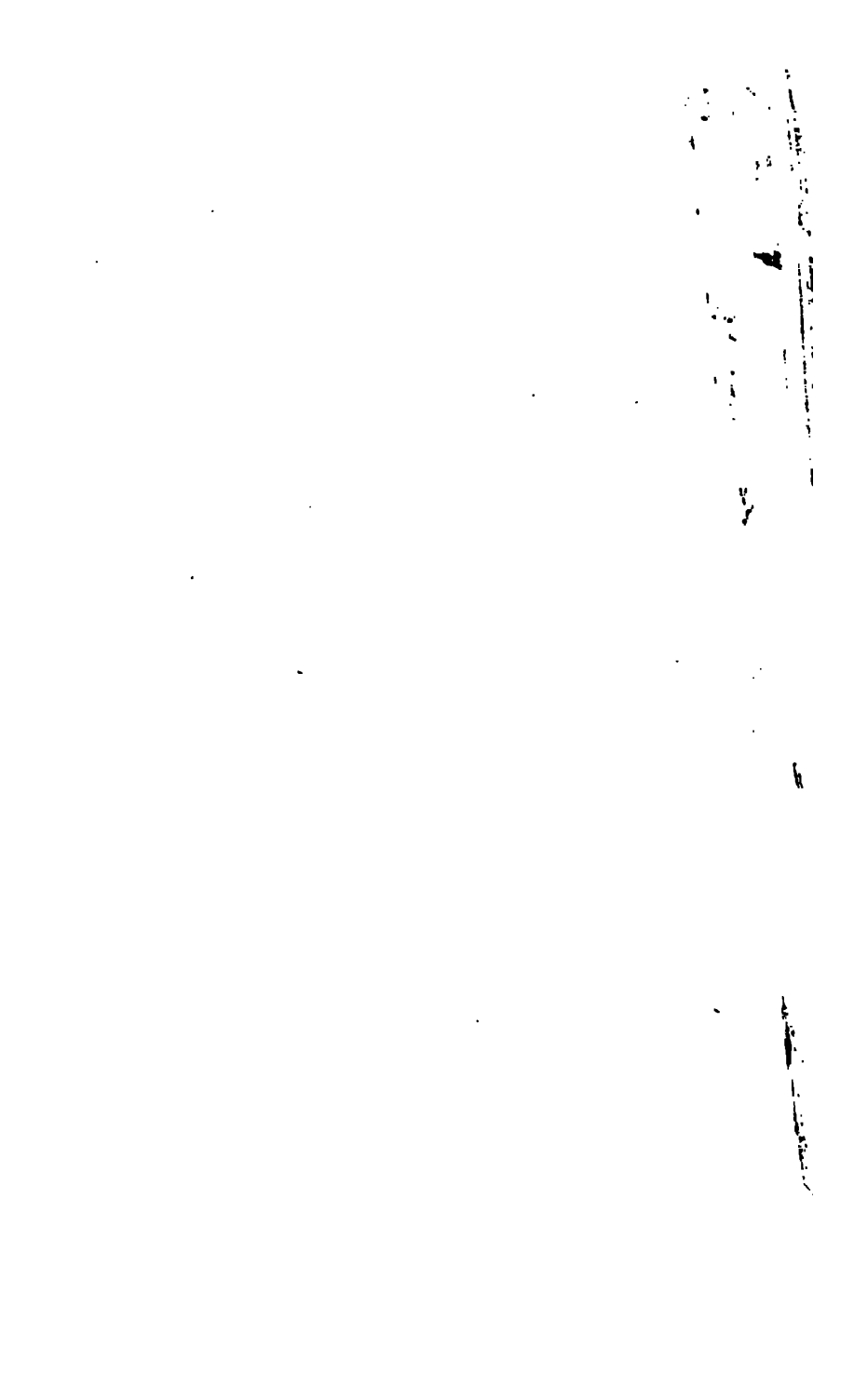
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CUZCO:

A JOURNEY TO THE ANCIENT CAPITAL OF PERU;

WITH

AN ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY, LANGUAGE, LITERATURE,
AND ANTIQUITIES OF THE INCAS.

AND

LIMA:

A VISIT TO THE CAPITAL AND PROVINCES OF
MODERN PERU;

WITH

A SKETCH OF THE VICEREGAL GOVERNMENT, HISTORY OF THE
REPUBLIC, AND A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE AND
SOCIETY OF PERU.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP.

BY
BY CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, F.R.G.S.,

Author of "Franklin's Footsteps."

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CUZCO AND LIMA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

THERE are few more attractive periods of history, than that which treats of the adventures of the lawless conquerors of the New World, who shattered at a blow the fabrics of stately empires, and so utterly prostrated the once thriving civilised communities of Peru, Mexico, and Bogota, that a century after the arrival of the Spaniards, scarce a vestige of them remained.

Their origin, obscured by the mist of ages, their rise comparatively rapid, and their fall sudden, and for ever.

In the masterly pages of Prescott have been recorded, in glowing language, the deeds of those stony-hearted warriors who uprooted them ; and every one knows the history of Cortez and Montezuma, of the courageous Quatimozin, of Pizarro and his strangled victim, and all the wonderful, almost incredible tales of Spanish prowess.

Surpassing in wonder the tales of Amadis de Gaul, or

Arthur of Britain, yet historically true, the chronicles of the conquest of the New World, the voluminous pages of the Inca Garcilasso, and the simple record of the true-hearted old soldier, Bernal Diaz, are the last, and not the least wonderful narratives of mediæval chivalry, and commemorate that brilliant interval which ushered in the modern spirit of enterprise and improvement.

But in the eager search for information with regard to the conquest of America, the deeply interesting history of its anterior civilisation has been comparatively neglected; and the blood-thirsty conquerors have been deemed more worthy of attention than their unfortunate victims.

Volumes have been devoted to the deeds of the blood-stained Pizarro, the fanatic Valverde, and their greedy followers; while a few pages suffice for a record of the Incas whom they destroyed, of their mythical origin, their wonderful career, and the beautiful episodes in their history, whose interest is enhanced by the majestic scenery amidst which their valorous deeds were performed.

It is a field of investigation which has been left almost entirely untouched; and the sketches of the civilisation of the Incas by Robertson and others, are only collected from Spanish chronicles, as introductions to the bloody history of the conquest which follows; and are composed by students who, though masterly in their powers of collecting the gold from the dross in the old chronicles and manuscripts of Spain, have never themselves gazed with rapture on the towering

Andes; nor examined the native traditions of the country they described, nor listened to the sweet but melancholy Inca songs, nor studied the beautiful language in which they are written.

Of the few English travellers in Peru who have, in modern times, given their narratives to the world, none with whom I am acquainted have visited the once splendid and imperial Cuzco,* the city of the Incas, and the surrounding country, that charming land whose lovely valleys abound in the most interesting architectural remains.

It was therefore to be expected that much which would assist in elucidating the former condition of this remarkable country, might be learned in a visit to the actual scene of the deeds of the Incas, by any one who would be at the pains to undertake such a journey.

With that object in view, the writer of the following pages sailed from England in August 1852, and on the 2nd of October arrived, by way of New York, at Aspinwall, the lately erected American city on the Isthmus of Panama.

Aspinwall, so called in honour of one of the directors of the Steam Navigation Company, consists of a long line of wooden houses facing the sea, and is surrounded by dense tropical vegetation, springing out of a marshy

* In the military memoir of General Miller, who visited it in 1824, there is a short account of Cuzco. Mr. Pentland fixed its geographical position, and reported it in the Royal Geographical Society's Journal. Count Castelnau, who was there in 1846, notices it in his work, as also does Lieut. Gibbon, U.S.N., who passed through it in 1851. With these exceptions, I know of no modern account of it, in the English or French languages.

swamp. It is situated between the old towns of Porto Bello and Chagres ; the one famous in the days of the Buccaneers, as the great emporium of the trade of America ; the other, at the mouth of the river of the same name, was the usual place of disembarkation, before the rise of Aspinwall. Both are now wretched and deserted places, the abodes of leprosy and fever.

A motley crowd of passengers landed from the New York steamer, and hurried to the railway cars under a broiling sun.

Here was the owner of a Californian saw-mill, tall and haggard, with a wife and large family ; there a learned judge ; in other spots might be seen a crowd of rough lumber-men from the forests of Maine, going to seek their fortunes in California ; New York tradesmen ; broken-down soldiers who had fought in the Mexican war ; all bustling to and fro on the platform, in the broiling heat, some with luggage, others with none, and jostling each other most unceremoniously.

At length all was ready, the cars started, and crossing a shallow arm of the sea by a causeway on piles, we plunged deeper and deeper into the thick, pestilential forest, whose rank vegetation rises from a black unwholesome morass. Lofty trees, creepers of every description, flowers of all hues, palms, plantains, and every variety of tropical plant, crowd close upon either side of the railway in dense masses ; and as they fall or decay, others spring up, while the vegetable matter sends up a fever from the black swamp, which has cleared off the unhappy labourers on this fatal line by scores and scores.

At high noon our destination was reached, at the spot where the railway then terminated, on the banks of the river Chagres.*

This place was called Barbacoas. Here we were surrounded by a host of most truculent looking Indians and Negroes, the owners of boats; and after struggling for luggage amidst the shrieks and execrations of unprotected females, long-bearded adventurers, and men with large families—under a blazing sun, and in a swamp of black mud, which served as the platform of the Barbacoas station—we at length assembled a party of nine men, three women, and seven children, in a long flat-bottomed boat, with a wooden awning.

The current runs with great rapidity, and the men punt the boats up the river with long poles, by walking along a ledge round the gunwale, in a state of complete nudity.

Six of these conveyances left Barbacoas, and began to work their slow and weary way up the river, which is bounded on either side by thick tropical forests, among which, thousands of humming birds and butterflies of the most brilliant colours are seen disporting themselves in the rays of the sun, and flocks of noisy parrots fly about among the higher branches of the trees.

Having stemmed the current for six miles, we reached Gorgona, a wretched village of huts, with high conical palm-leaf roofs, situated at a bend of the river. Here the night was to be passed, as it was hazardous to face the rapids after dark. All the

* The railway is now completed to Panama.

boatmen got drunk, the Californians prowled about among the huts trying to pick quarrels, the dogs yelled, the negroes fought each other with long knives, and nobody slept.

As the early dawn appeared, a thick mist teeming with yellow fever arose from the forest. Again the boatmen handled their poles, and again we began to advance up the river, with heavy dews falling around us, and wetting everything through.

At length we arrived at Cruces, where the river ceases to be navigable, and whence a mule road of twenty miles concluded the journey to Panama.

Cruces consists of about a hundred huts, arranged along a dirty street crowded with mules, and steaming with liquid filth. The road from this place to Panama is about the most execrable in the world. In many places sloughs of violently adhesive black mud, five feet deep, embarrass the mule and his rider; to the mud succeed great stones, a few inches apart, with sharp edges, stuck on end, all over the road. Now the way would wind up steep acclivities, then it would follow the bed of a torrent about three feet wide, with rocks rising up perpendicularly on either side, and the whole road passes through a dense tropical forest.

Gradually, however, that which for several miles had been the bed of a torrent, or a slough of black mud, became a bridle-path; fields of Indian corn and pasture land made their appearance, the bridle-path became a road lined with huts, and at length the blue Pacific burst upon our view, with many verdant islets

bosomed on its unruffled surface. We trotted through a suburb, passed under an old archway, and entered the city of Panama.

Panama is bounded on three sides by the sea, and surrounded by a wall, with ditch and bastions on the land face. In its centre is the *plaza*, with the old cathedral, and through the town runs the *Calle de las Monjas*, which is called by the Americans *Main Street*. The town consists of old-fashioned Spanish houses, with broad verandahs, and heavy folding-doors instead of windows, which a few years ago looked sedate and drowsy enough; but a strange metamorphosis has come over the old town. Now flaring red and gilt sign-boards swing across the street in every direction. On one house a blue sign-post inscribed "American Hotel," hangs from an upper story, "American Hotel" in red is daubed across the one below, and "Ice, Egg-nogg, Good Lodging, Brandy-smashes, Cheap Board," are painted up all over the ground floor.

There are six other hotels* in this street for the accommodation of passengers to California, besides three restaurants, and as many newspaper offices; all of which are covered with sign-boards of all colours and dimensions.

Here the young American world is treading hard and close on the heels of the old one; and this once quiet old-fashioned city looks strange indeed, decked out in its new and flaunting dress. In the year 1846,

* Viz., the New Orleans . . . Aspinwall (the best).
Louisiana . . . Franklin.
New York . . . Western.

there was not an inn or hotel in the place—so great has been the change wrought by the discovery of gold in California.

Panama, however, is not the same city whence the swineherd Pizarro sailed to the conquest of the empire of the Incas. That adventurer did not here equip his expedition, nor was it here that he, Almagro, and Luque desecrated the sacrament by their infernal compact. Old Panama, now a miserable ruin, about six miles down the coast, was deserted after Morgan with his buccaneers had crossed the Isthmus, sacked the town, and murdered every soul within its precincts. Now a heap of ruins overgrown with rank vegetation, in a pestilential swamp, is all that remains of that proud city—the key of the Pacific, and one of the brightest jewels in the Castilian crown; from whose port those vessels sailed whose leader overthrew the most civilised empire in the New World, added the viceregal province of Peru to the overgrown dominions of Spain, and loaded a happy and industrious people with the bitter chains of slavery.*

From Panama a line of English steamers runs along the whole western coast of South America; and thus the shores of Peru, which took Pizarro and his little band so much toil and trouble to arrive at, are reached in a few days.

* After the destruction of old Panama by Morgan—a buccaneer of infamous notoriety, who was rewarded for his villany, by our Charles II., with knighthood, and the government of Jamaica—the former site was deserted, and the new town built where it now stands.

The anchorage is bad and inconvenient for shipping, so that vessels usually lay at *Toboga*, an island about ten miles distant.

We passed the Isle of Gorgona, so famous as the spot of the stern conqueror's deed of desperate devotion—the Cape of Emeralds—the mouth of the Guayaquil, where he first landed, and whence the towering summits of Cotopaxi and Chimborazo are visible, and reached Callao, the port of Lima, in six days from Panama.

The present republic of Peru extends along the coast of the Pacific for a distance of 1,235 miles, in a straight line from point to point—it is much more including the windings of the coast—from the river Tumbes, which separates it from Ecuador on the north, to the river Loa, which separates it from Bolivia on the south. Lima, its far-famed capital, is situated about half way between these two points.

This beautiful country, embracing every variety and description of climate and scenery, producing, or capable of producing in abundance every kind of vegetable that is known to the world, and yielding from its mines, rich stores of gold, silver, copper, lead, tin, coal, and mercury; and from its herds and flocks, an endless supply of hides, and fleeces of silky texture, is divided into three very distinct and well defined regions.

I. *The Coast*, extending from the feet of the maritime Cordillera to the ocean, contains a numerous succession of rich and fertile valleys, separated from each other by sandy deserts. These valleys enjoy a warm though not oppressive climate, rain is never known to fall, but refreshing dews descend in abundance during the night. In these valleys immense

crops of sugar and cotton are raised ; while extensive vineyards produce wines of delicious flavour, and a spirit called *pisco*, which is consumed in great quantities by all classes, and also largely exported.

II. *The Sierra*, the region of the Cordillera of the Andes, is about 300 miles wide, and contains the most stupendous mountains, whose scenery is unequalled in beauty ; vast plains and pasture lands, and warm and fertile ravines and valleys. The Sierra is the native place of the potato, the abode of the vicuña and alpaca, while in its recesses lie concealed the far-famed and inexhaustible treasures of Peru.

In the midst of the Sierra, and in the centre of Peru, stands Cuzco, the ancient city of the Incas, to whose former history and present state a charm is attached, which enhances the enjoyment of a journey to this beautiful country, and adds new interest to a land overflowing with historical associations.

III. *The Montaña*, or tropical forests skirting the eastern slopes of the Andes, and extending over two-thirds of the Republic of Peru, are comparatively unknown ; but they abound in products of the greatest commercial value, and will, at some future time, be the principal source of Peruvian wealth.

The government of this country, so highly favoured by nature, is centred in the city of Lima, whose site was chosen by the conqueror Pizarro, a little more than three hundred years ago. On the shores of the Pacific, in $12^{\circ} 3'$ south latitude, a broad and fertile valley extends from the foot of the Cordillera to the sea. The river San Mateo, rising among lofty mountain peaks, after a

tortuous course, at length finds its way into the plain, and changing its name to the Rimac (he who speaks), from an oracle formerly existing on its banks, empties itself into the Pacific. Here, on Epiphany Sunday, 1535, Pizarro founded El Ciudad de los Reyes, or Lima, on the banks of the Rimac, and about seven miles from the sea.

The view from the bay of Callao, looking towards Lima, is very fine. The green alluvial plain, covered with little white farms and clusters of willow-trees, spreads itself from the right and left of the seaport of Callao to Ancon on the north, and the bold cliff of the Morro Solar, with the little bathing-place of Chorillos at its foot, on the south. Inland, the glorious Andes rise abruptly from the plain, at a distance of about two leagues from the ocean, with their snowy peaks towering one above the other far into the cloudy sky; and, at their feet, the white towers of Lima are embosomed in the gardens of oranges and chirimoyas which surround the city.

There is a railway from Callao to Lima, to which the old suppressed convent of San Juan de Dios forms a terminus; and, to keep pace with this sign of progress, the old city of late years has assumed a more busy aspect; new houses are rising up in many directions, English broughams and barouches drive through the streets, and crowds of German and Chinese emigrants are met at every turn.

But while we leave the modern city, with the story of its viceregal pomp in by-gone days, and the promising republic now centred in its bosom, till our

pilgrimage to Cuzco is completed, there is much worthy of attention, before commencing our journey, in the ruins still widely scattered over the valley of the Rimac and its vicinity.

Ascending the course of the river from Lima, towards the interior, the picturesque ravine is filled with curious remains. At the skirts of the mountains are numerous old Indian villages, built of enormous *adobes* (bricks baked in the sun), and the cactus, or prickly pear, is frequently seen to raise its ungainly head amidst the now deserted dwellings. It is remarkable that these villages are all situated in the gorges of the hills, and not in the valley, a proof how thickly the country was formerly peopled, and how anxious its governors were that every foot of ground should be retained for cultivation.

In one of these gorges, near the Rimac, are the remains of an extensive city of *adobes*, now called Caxamarquilla, covering nearly as much ground as their modern rival Lima.*

In the valley of the Rimac are many mounds of immense size, generally supposed, from the numerous skulls and bones which have been dug up, to have been used as burial-places. These vast artificial hills are built of *adobes*. One of them is nearly seventy feet high, and covers two acres of ground.

Although these were doubtless partly used as burial-places, it is probable that they answered a far more extensive purpose: that they were intended to

* Ulloa gives an account of this ruined city, furnished him by the Marquis of Valdelirios, 1745.

afford protection against their enemies to the feudal lords of the valley ; and to serve as a place of retreat to their retainers. At their feet is almost always found a collection of ruins forming the little village of the peasantry ; and frequently a court enclosed by a high wall, resembling the present *galpons*, or quarters of the slaves on the sugar estates, in the neighbourhood.

But the most famous and interesting ruin, of a date anterior to the time of the Incas, is the temple of Pachacamac, situated on the shores of the Pacific, about twenty-five miles south of Lima.

The road to it, from the valley of the Rimac, skirts close round the lofty Morro Solar, a precipitous headland overhanging the fashionable bathing village of Chorillos. It then turns sharp round into a wood of acacias, which opens into a broad and handsome avenue of willow trees, half a mile long, leading to the sugar estate of Villa. Fruit gardens, maize, sugar-cane, and lucerne fields are spread out on either side ; and the farm itself is an extensive collection of buildings, containing a fine house, huts for the slaves, in number 480, outhouses, and a church. Villa has long been famous for the lawless character of its slaves : some years ago they murdered the steward,* and hid his

* " In the farm of Villa they killed the steward ; and certain negro slaves who were suspected, after having been tortured, confessed that they had murdered him, and thrown him into an oven. The bones were sought for and found, two of the faculty having declared they were human bones, but a French surgeon contending they belonged to a donkey.

" The Prefect treated the Frenchman as ignorant, and was about to give Christian burial to the donkey's bones, when the real body was discovered, buried near the sea-beach.

" From these facts it may be deduced, 1. That torture does not conduce

body in an oven ; and this road is still considered the most dangerous in the vicinity of Lima.

Beyond this estate a broad plain extends along the coast to the great desert of San Juan, containing several large lakes well stocked with water-fowls. The desert beyond is composed of very heavy sand, and is about six miles in breadth, the ride across it being excessively fatiguing.

At length, reaching the top of an almost imperceptible ascent, the Pacific ocean, with three rocky islets off the coast, first breaks upon the view, and then the hill on which is situated the once splendid temple of Pachacamac.

Passing rapidly down the sandy steep, and skirting the small farm of Mama-Conas, I entered the city of the dead.

It is with a feeling of mournful depression that a stranger wanders among the now empty and deserted streets of this once rich and populous city. The houses are built of small bricks, but the roofs are gone, and the rooms filled with sand. Towards the sea, an isolated hill rose above the city, and on its summit was built the famous temple. The ruins consist of three broad terraces, with walls about

to the discovery of the truth ; 2. That in Peru, the police have a power more tyrannical, more arbitrary, and more stupid than the inquisition."—*Herencia Española*, por Coronel Espinosa, pp. 15, 16. Lima, 1852.

The negro slaves in the sugar estates on the coast, especially near Lima, are a very lawless set of rascals ; frequently, after their work is done, they take their masters' horses, and go out on the road, to watch for lonely travellers, and do a little on their own account. Many of them run away altogether, and form gangs of robbers.

twenty feet high, on parts of which the vermilion paint that once coated the whole, is still to be seen, having been preserved through three centuries of neglect, owing to the extreme dryness of the air, in a land where rain never falls. Above the terraces there is a level platform, where once a splendid fane rose in honour of Pachacamac, the Creator of the World,* the Supreme God of the Indians of Peru, whose worship extended over the whole land of the Incas, and whose shrine was crowded by devout pilgrims from the distant plains of Chile, and the sunny forests of the equator. It is 399 feet above the level of the Pacific, and about half-a-mile from the heavy surf which rolls upon the sandy beach. The shrine itself was entirely demolished by Hernando Pizarro, who plundered it at the time of the conquest. The chroniclers of the period report that the doors were plated with gold, and powdered with precious stones; and that the riches found in it were so immense, that the ornaments of the doors alone were worth 4000 marks, and were given to the pilot, Quintero, as his share of the spoil.

At the foot of the temple are the ruins of a large *tambo* or hospice for pilgrims; and antiquaries have also discovered vestiges of a palace, a temple of the Sun, and a convent of virgins. In their present state, these are little different from the other buildings, however splendid they may have been in the happy days of the Incas.

The view from the platform, once crowned by the temple, is very striking. The great silent city of


* *Pacha*, the earth. *Camac*, participle of *Camani*, I create.

Pachacamac, which does not now contain one solitary inhabitant, is spread out immediately beneath the hill, and is separated from the fertile valley of Lurin by a river of the same name. To the north of this little stream a sandy desert extends from the Pacific to the foot of the towering Andes; while to the south the smiling face of the cultivated and well-wooded vale of Lurin stands out in striking contrast.

The evening was far advanced before, leaving these famous ruins, I approached a small hut on the fertile side of the stream, to seek a night's lodging; but instead of the kindly Indian I had expected to find, a ruffianly crowd of negroes came out, and assumed an insolent and menacing attitude. High words followed, which ended in one of the gang rushing upon me with a long knife. There was no further choice left; I fired my revolver within a few inches of him, and sticking spurs into the horse, gave the ruffians another parting shot, and rode away through the city of the dead into the sandy desert, where I passed the night.

These ruins, in the vicinity of Lima, including Caxamarquilla and Pachacamac, are, without doubt, the remains of very ancient civilisation; and together with the gigantic stone remains of Tiahuanuco, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, point to a period long anterior to the advent of the Incas, and bear the same relation to their edifices, as the great ruins at Palenque and Axmul do to the works of the more modern Aztecs.

But while in Central America there is no sign or clue to explain the origin of the extraordinary architectural remains which abound in its forests, there are



certain indications which appear to throw some light upon the early peopling of the shores, and eventually of the interior of Peru, even prior to the appearance of the first Inca.

That a voyage across the Pacific, by the first settlers of parts of America, is far from improbable will be inferred, when we reflect on the prevailing winds in that ocean, and the myriads of islands with which it is studded. In our own time, the junks of China and Japan, carried off their shores by a gale of wind, have reached the Sandwich Islands, and even the coast of California.

From India or Malacca there is a frequent succession of resting places, through the Indian Archipelago, to Tahiti, Easter Island, and eventually to the coast of Peru near Arica; and by this route it is probable that, centuries ago, the first settler

“ *Diversa exsilia, et desertas querere terras*
— agitur —”

and landed in the far distant continent of another hemisphere.

But along the path trodden by the first emigrants from the cities and ports of Asia and China to the table-land of the Andes, it would be natural to seek for traces of their progress.

Among these, not to mention the many significant traditions prevalent among the South-Sea islanders, may be noticed the platforms of masonry and gigantic statues that were found in Easter Island, and “were not looked upon as idols by the natives,” who appeared

ignorant of their origin. Captain Cook, in writing of these remains, might be describing the Temple of Pachacamac, or the ruins of Tiahuanuco, so marked is the resemblance.*

There was a wide-spread tradition throughout Peru, at the time of the conquest, that ages before the appearance of the Incas, a race of giants had landed at Cape St. Helena, near Guayaquil, coming from the far West in large boats. It is added, that God destroyed them for their sins; and even now the huge fossil bones of mastodons and mammoths often found in the hard clay, in various parts of Peru, are attributed to these mythical personages.† But little is left, in the way of tradition or other evidence, sufficiently conclusive to enable us to form any opinion on this early civilisation of Peru, which, like the wonderful architecture of Central America,‡ leaves room for wonder and admiration, but scarce any ground on which to found a basis for speculation.

But, leaving the temple of Pachacamac and its

* "The platforms are faced with hewn stones of a very large size. They used no sort of cement, yet the joints are exceedingly close, and the stones mortised and tenoned one into another in a very artful manner, and the side walls were not perpendicular, but sloping a little inwards."—*Captain Cook's Voyages; Second Voyage; book ii. c. viii.*

† See *G. de la Vega*, lib. ix. c. ix.; and *Acosta*, lib. i., who, in mentioning the arrival of the giants, says that the Indians of the coast affirmed that, in old time, they often sailed forth to the isles of the West, in blown-up skins.

For accounts of fossil bones in Peru, see *Temple*, vol. ii. p. 393; *Dr. A. Smith's* "Peru as it is," vol. ii. p. 265; and *Castelnau*.

‡ Figures resembling alphabetical characters were found on the walls at Palenque, which may, at some future time, be interpreted by a western Rawlinson, and disclose the wondrous history of the unknown people who, ages ago, erected those once splendid palaces and temples.

kindred ruins around Lima, whose origin and early history are unknown, it is time to turn our attention to beautiful Peru as it now is, and to the more attainable and deeply-interesting history of the Incas, and of Cuzco, their imperial city.

The preparations for a journey into the interior of Peru from Lima are usually on rather an extensive scale. The native Peruvian cavalleros travel with at least three cargo mules, two carrying their luggage, and the third bearing an enormous case made of bullock's hide, called an *almofrex*, which contains a large mattress, pillow, sheets, &c.; for, except in the large towns, there are no beds to be had on the road. A wheeled vehicle is quite unknown.

The trade in mules throughout South America is of course very important; and long troops periodically arrive in Lima from Piura on the northern coast, and from the province of Tucuman, south of Bolivia. In the last century a stimulus was given to this trade by the system of overland carriage for goods from Peru to Buenos Ayres, established by the Spanish government, by which the dangers of the Pacific ocean, which was then infested by buccaneers, were avoided. In 1748, regular stages and posthouses, with relays of animals and provisions, were formed between Lima and the river Plate, and it is calculated that 130,000 horses and mules were at that time annually imported into Peru.

At the present day the sale of mules is carried on at Lima, on the banks of the Rimac, where large troops are collected together waiting for a purchaser.

For the real enjoyment of travelling in the interior of Peru, it is necessary to throw aside all superfluity of luggage, portmanteau, and *almofrex*; and setting forth with a small pair of leather saddle-bags, and a few warm ponchos for a bed, to commence the journey with a perfect absence of care or anxiety. Thus, unhampered by luggage, the traveller may wander through the enchanting scenery, whithersoever his fancy leads him; and, taking his chance for a lodging or a supper, roam amidst the majestic Cordilleras, and pass a time of most perfect enjoyment.

In very light marching order, with two mules lately arrived from the pastures of Tucuman, and a black cavalry soldier, who proved of no use and was certainly no ornament, the pilgrimage to Cuzco was commenced on the 7th of December, 1852; and, leaving Lima by the gate of Guadalupe, passing through Chorrillos and by the old temple of Pachacamac, we arrived at the little village of Lurin, and accomplished the first stage of the journey along the coast of Peru.

CHAPTER II.

JOURNEY TO CUZCO.

THE COAST.

FROM Lurin to the sea-port of Pisco is a journey of 130 miles along a succession of sandy deserts stretching from the Cordillera to the Pacific, and separated from each other by fertile valleys.

The first inhabited spot to the southward of Lurin is the little village of Chilca ; a collection of cane-huts, with a handsome church, but dependent on wells for its supply of water. It is inhabited by a race of Indians, who, thus isolated in a small oasis surrounded by the sandy wilderness, have preserved much of the spirit of freedom and independence.

An instance of their determined resistance of oppression occurred the morning after my arrival : when, my soldier having given the syndic of the village a blow with the butt-end of a pistol, the whole population assembled in a state of the utmost excitement, and insisted on the fellow being sent back a prisoner to Lima for trial.

So careful were the Indians of their rights, that, till within a few years, there was a particular apartment allotted to every white traveller who arrived at Chilca ;

the governor or cacique supplied him with food, and informed him that he could only remain four-and-twenty hours in the village. The people of Chilca are an extremely industrious race—some of them are muleteers, others employ themselves in field labour in the neighbouring valley of Mala, and the rest are fishermen. The women make cigar-cases of straw.

The sandy undulations round the place produce palm-trees, figs, and pomegranates; and several moist beds have been formed where reeds are cultivated to make matting for the roofs of the houses. A little scanty herbage grows on the sand-hills, where mules and asses were grazing, but the food of the inhabitants is all brought from Mala. The whole width of the scanty vegetation does not exceed a mile; and, if it were not for the view of the blue Pacific, the traveller might fancy himself in an oasis of the Sahara desert.

After leaving Chilca, the road leads through a sandy desert, crossing ravines, at intervals, that end in small sandy bays, in some of which the Indians were engaged in fishing. A ride of twelve miles brought us to the beautiful valley of Mala, watered by the river San Antonio, now much swollen; but which, with its plantations of oranges, vines, and bananas, its fields of maize, and rows of graceful willow-trees, formed a striking contrast to the dreary wilderness.

Nothing but the most unbounded hospitality is to be met with in this country, without inns or extortioners. At Lurin and at Chilca our Indian hosts had refused all payment, and at Mala the excellent old priest, Don Martin Fernandez, received us with the

greatest kindness and the most hearty welcome. The southern portion of the vale of Mala is occupied by the extensive grazing farm belonging to Don José Asin, where large herds of cattle are reared, which principally supply bulls for the Lima bull-ring.

Nine miles further on, over a waste of heavy sand, is the village of Asia, consisting of nine or ten small huts made of cane plastered with mud, and surrounded by a few stunted bushes and some pumpkins. At this wretched little place I found an Indian who possessed a copy of the History of the Incas, by Garcilasso de la Vega, and who talked of their deeds as if he had studied its pages with much attention.

From Asia the road winds round a lofty headland close to the sea, and continues on among barren hills and ravines for twenty-five miles, until at last the eye is relieved by a view of the broad and fertile plain of Cañete, one of the richest sugar-yielding districts in Peru.

The plain is about twelve or fourteen miles in length, extending in breadth from the Cordillera to the sea; and is covered in nearly its whole extent by waving fields of sugar-cane separated by rows of graceful willows. It is divided into eight large estates, which are cultivated by about two thousand negro slaves, and several hundred Chinese lately imported. The negro population of the coast valleys of Peru were imported from Porto Bello, the great depôt for this trade, which was principally in the hands of English merchants during the first century after the conquest.

It was old John Hawkins, one of the naval heroes of

Elizabeth's reign, who commenced a lucrative trade in African slaves, between the coast near Sierra Leone and the new Spanish settlements of America ; and by a curious coincidence, the retribution that overtook his son, for the heartless avarice of the father, commenced off this very vale of Cañete, which was then just beginning to receive its first cargo of human merchandise.

Sir Richard Hawkins sailed from England in 1594, in a vessel quaintly but not inappropriately named by his mother, the "Repentance," for she remembered the sins of her slave-dealing husband with grief and shame. He entered the South Seas on a marauding expedition, and it was off the coast of Cañete that the Spanish fleet, which afterwards defeated and took him prisoner, first sighted the English pirate.

Cañete suffered from the attack of the English in 1746, when Anson landed at and burnt the little fort of Cerro Azul, on the northern end of the valley. His name is still to be seen, carved in large letters, on the face of a cliff.

The cultivation of sugar at Cañete is carried on with considerable energy. The cane is cut once in about eighteen months ; and, as the weather is sometimes cold, and rain never falls, much care and labour are required in irrigating the fields. But though the cane is slow in growing, a greater supply of sugar is produced, owing to the cane being of closer texture, and containing more juice, than in many milder regions.

Two of the best estates, those of La Quebrada and Casa Blanca, are rented by an Englishman from the

Convent of Buena Muerste, at Lima. In the former is a steam-engine for crushing the cane, and a distillery for rum. On other estates water-power is used, and at the estate of La Huaca, where I was staying, the cane is crushed by means of mules and bullocks fastened to capstan bars, and driven round three capstans which turn the crushing rollers.

The juice runs down a gutter into a receptacle in a long room, where it undergoes the boiling process. There are seven copper cauldrons underneath, in which the juice is boiled by furnaces, and eventually some of it is refined, some made into brown sugar, and some into *chancacas*—cakes of hard brown treacle, much eaten by the slaves. A great portion of the produce of Cañete is exported to Chilé and other parts of the coast, from the little port of Cerro Azul in small trading vessels, and the remainder is sent to Lima by mule carriage, each mule carrying 325 pounds of sugar.

The proprietors of the estates of Cañete are an excellent class of country gentlemen, upright, hospitable, and kind to their slaves and dependents. The buildings on the estates are handsome and extensive. One side of a court-yard usually contains the *trapiche*, or sugar-mill, the boiling-house, and large refining and store-rooms; while on the other is the dwelling-house, with long airy rooms handsomely furnished. Adjoining the house there is always a chapel, with a priest attached to it.

The mode of life on these estates is very agreeable. The proprietors and their dependents rise very early

and ride over the fields, or go to their several occupations until 10 a.m., when they meet at a very substantial breakfast of *caldo*, or soup, poached eggs garnished with slices of fried bananas, and various dishes of meat, closing with a cup of well frothed chocolate, and a glass of water. Dinner is at 4 p.m., when the proprietor presides, and the company consists of his family, the *administrador*, or steward, the chaplain, refiner, and other dependents, and any guests who may happen to drop in.

The dinner consists of a *chupé*, the national dish of Peru, made of potatoes, eggs, and chicken. This is usually followed by fresh fish in vinegar and *ahi*, or Peruvian pepper, and the repast concludes with the most delicious *dulces* and preserves, washed down by a glass of water.

The society at Cañete is made up of the families of the country gentlemen, the chaplains and officials in the little town, and is most charming.* An interchange

* The estates in Cañete are eight in number, viz. :—

I. Hacienda de la Quebrada. (600 slaves)	{	Mr. Wm. Reid, rented of the Convent of Buena Muerte, at Lima. Worked by steam. (Pays a rent of \$26,000.)
II. Hacienda de Casa Blanca	{	Mr. Wm. Reid. Also of Buena Muerte.
III. Hacienda de la Huaca	{	Don Mariano de Osma : belonging to his mother, Doña Ramirez de Asellano y Osma.
IV. Hacienda de Santa Barbara	{	Don Domingo Carillo. The mills of these two estates are worked by mules and bullocks.
V. Hacienda de Matarratones, or San Juan Arona	{	Don Pedro Paz Soldan, worked by water-power. Don Pedro is married to a sister of the owner of the—

of dinners and visits keeps up a constant feeling of kindness and goodwill among them. A beautiful flower and fruit garden is attached to each house, with a running stream passing through it; where groves of the tall *chirimoya* tree whose fruit, peculiar to Peru, is unrivalled in excellence, and resembles spiritualised strawberries and cream; the lofty and graceful *palta*, or alligator pear; orange, lemon, and citron trees; all tempt a visitor with their exquisite flavour, while the delicious *granadilla*, the fruit of the passion-flower, hangs over the trees in rich profusion.

Unequalled are the gardens of Cañete in the abundance and beauty of their fruits and flowers, unless it is by the more abundant hospitality of their excellent owners.

Near the garden is usually situated the *galpon*, or abode of the slaves, a village of huts with a small square in the centre, surrounded by a high wall. The negroes of Cañete appear a happy and contented race, and though their labour is forced, they receive clothing, food, and lodging, and escape the capitation tax of the oppressed Indians of the Sierra.

Early in the morning, one is roused by the voices of the young girls and women, when they all repair to the

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|--------------------------------|---|
| VI. Hacienda de Gomez . . . | { Don José Unanue : a son of the
learned physician and author.
Worked by water. |
| VII. Hacienda de Montalban . . | { Don Demetrio O'Higgins, son of the
famous general, who also lived
here. |
| VIII. Hacienda de Hualcara . . | { Don Antonio Ramos, a wealthy Chi-
lian. Worked by steam, and a
vacuum pan. |

door of the chapel before going to work, and chaunt a hymn of praise upon their knees. This is repeated at sunset, when the day's work is concluded.*

Since the independence of Peru, it has been the intention of the Republican Government to abolish slavery, and the law for the liberation of the negroes appears to be both a wise and a just one.

Avoiding on the one hand the precipitate measure of the English reform ministry, and on the other the ribald effrontery of the slave statesmen of North America, who quote scripture in defence of their inhuman institutions, the Peruvians have steered a middle course between the two extremes.

In 1821, a law was passed that all existing slaves should remain so for life, that their children should be free when fifty years old, and that their grandchildren should be born free.† Thus the slaves themselves, it was intended, would become gradually accustomed to liberty, and at the same time their owners would have ample time to prepare for the change by importing Chinese, whose cheap labour would prevent the negroes from striking for higher wages, while the condition of the former slaves would be greatly

* A Chilian traveller thus describes his first morning at Cafiete :—

“I was sleeping tranquilly, when a chorus of angels seemed to awaken me, before the light of day had dawned. The most melodious accents were wafted to my ears, and when I perceived that it was a sacred hymn, I could not understand who it was that felt so much piety at such an hour.

“The poor slave-girl, who passes her life in sorrow, nakedness, and fear of the lash, is she who thus comes to praise God, and give thanks for the light of another day.”—*Cartas sobre el Peru, por Pedro Vicuña*. Valparaiso, 1847.

† In 1855, General Castilla, the acting President of Peru, has issued a decree proclaiming the freedom of all slaves.

ameliorated. It is anticipated that few on receiving their liberty will leave their masters, to whom they are endeared by their almost paternal kindness, and the recollections of their earliest childhood. The cost of the keep and clothing of a slave is calculated at about \$40 a year.

On leaving the hospitable *haciendas* of Cañete, I was accompanied by a negro guide, and proceeded along the coast to the southward; and after crossing the river of the same name, now very rapid and much swollen, arrived at a mass of ruins on a point of land overlooking the sea—now called the fortress of Hervay.

Situated on a steep hill, these extensive remains are divided into two parts. That farthest from the sea consists of nine chambers. Entering through a breach in the northern wall, I passed along a rampart broad enough for two men to walk abreast, with a parapet five feet high on the outside, and a wall sixteen feet high on the inside.

The parapet is on the edge of a very steep cliff, partly faced with *adobes*, and about thirty feet above the plain. At the end of twenty yards, the passage turns at right angles into the interior of the building, where there is a doorway ten feet high. The sides approach each other, and the lintel is of willow beams. It leads into a spacious hall, surrounded by large recesses, with passages opening into numerous small chambers. The walls are sixteen feet high, built of *adobes*, and partly covered with plaster.

From this most interesting ruin, walking towards the

sea, over 220 paces of ground strewed with ruined walls, I entered a large hall, perfectly square, whose sides measured thirty-nine paces. The east side contained fifteen recesses, resembling those of the chamber in the other ruin. On the south side were two doorways leading, by passages, into numerous smaller chambers. In the upper part of the walls, the holes for the beams which once supported the roof, were distinctly visible.*

These ruins of Hervay afford unmistakeable evidence, from their general resemblance to the architecture at Cuzco and Limatambo, of an Incarial origin. They differ in this respect from those of Pachacamac, and the vale of the Rimac, which have been already noticed, and are the first traces of the conquests of the Incas that are to be met with on the coast.

The valleys from Yca and Pisco, to the dominions of the great Chimú, where now stands the modern city of Truxillo, were first conquered by the Incas, in the time of Pachacutec, whose son, the renowned Prince Yupanqui, proved the superiority of the arms of the Sun, in many a fierce battle with the Yunca Indians.

The fortress of Hervay, containing a palace and other extensive buildings, in all probability erected at about this period, became one of the first establishments of the Incas on the coast of the Pacific.

In the *huacas*, or burying places, on the plain of Cañete, many curious relics of this period have lately been dug up, including specimens of Inca pottery,

* The walls of these ruins, as is the case with many of greater celebrity, have, as usual, been defaced by people scribbling their names over them. Among others, I remarked the following doleful sentence :—‘ *Aquí suspiró un triste amante, por la ingrata Panchita García.* ’

stone *canopas*, or household gods, golden ear-rings, and silver ornaments of various kinds.

Leaving at Hervay the remains of the happy rule of a wise and beneficent race of monarchs, we entered the sandy waste, forty miles in breadth, which separates the fertile plains of Chinchá and Cañete. For thirty miles the road passes over a dreary succession of sandy hills with lofty perpendicular cliffs towards the sea, and at last a winding path brought us on to the beach, where a heavy surf was breaking. Turning the point of a cliff, we came upon the dry bed of a mountain torrent, which had once dashed through a declivitous ravine, and emptied itself into the Pacific.

All now was stillness and desolation. At the foot of the rocky sides of the ravine were a few stunted shrubs, and the dry bed of the stream was lined with large round stones. The sun was just touching the western ocean, and reflected a bright light on one side of the ravine, while the long range of dismal cliffs threw their broad shadows over the other.

The monotonous roar of the surf was the only sound; but some little way up the ravine an object attracted my attention, and, dismounting, I walked towards it. There, at the foot of one of the low bushes, was a female figure in the well-known dress of an Inca Indian girl, as worn in the valleys of Tarma and Xauxa—the blue cotton gown, and the black mourning *anacu*, or apron, with her face buried in the sand.

I took one of her hands, and she turned to me with an expression of the most heartrending grief. It was a beautiful face, and the poor girl seemed not more

than sixteen. She pointed to a little bush a few yards farther on, where I found a little baby quite dead. Placing some money by its side, I rode away.

The poor young girl seemed like the genius of the Incas weeping for the affliction of her children, while the brilliant sun, the deity of their race, sank into the ocean and left them to the galling yoke of foreign conquerors.

It was in just such another spot, with the exception of the ocean which, like the tantalising mirage of the desert, would have added another pang to her suffering, that Hagar "cast her child under the shrubs, and sat over against him a good way off, and lifted up her voice and wept."

The road, leaving this desolate spot, again ascends the cliff; and passing over some leagues of desert, we entered the beautiful vale of Chíncha after dark, and reached the hospitable sugar estate of Laran.

This extensive *hacienda* is one of the finest on the coast of Peru. The house is fronted by a broad and handsome corridor with stone steps, leading down into the court-yard. The rooms are lofty, and handsomely furnished, and the proprietor, Don Antonio Prada, who resides on the spot, has introduced the unusual luxury of a billiard-table. On another side of the court-yard there is a handsome church, and the sugar-mill is worked by steam.

A broad straight road, bordered by fields of sugar-cane, which runs from the gates of Laran to the feet of the Cordillera, is exactly in the same latitude with the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco; and is said to have been

the boundary between New Castille and New Toledo, the territories granted to Pizarro and Almagro, after the conquest.

It was here that the Marshal Almagro established his quarters, when returning from Chil  in 1537, he proceeded to the coast, to claim from Pizarro his share of the territories of Peru. The stormy interview between those two fierce adventurers at Mala, led to the retreat of Almagro into the interior, and his final overthrow in the bloody battle of Las Salinas.

There are two other sugar estates in the valley of Chincha, of San Jos , and San Regis, belonging to Don Fernando Carrillo, Count of Monte Blanco, the former worked by a steam-engine, and the latter by mules and bullocks. There is also a small town; and numerous *huacas*, or ancient burial places, attest the populousness of the valley in the time of the Incas.

Between the plains of Chincha and Pisco, there is a desert of hard sand, and passing over a new suspension-bridge which spans the river of Pisco, and through a plain covered with date palms, willows, and patches of pasture where herds of goats were grazing, we entered the little town some hours after dark.

Pisco is a good specimen of the smaller towns on this part of the coast. There are several good houses in the plaza, one belonging to Don Domingo Elias, one of the largest landed proprietors, and certainly the most enterprising man in Peru. There is also a handsome church, in the Limenian style of architecture, occupying one side of the same square.

The smaller dwellings of the poorer classes, princi-

pally negroes and half castes, are of simple construction. The streets are composed of rows of houses, built of cane stuck in the ground, with cross pieces at intervals. They are about ten feet high, plastered with mud, and whitewashed.

The framework of a door, and a glass lamp suspended over it, make them look neat and comfortable.

Besides the great church in the plaza, which is a well known landmark for vessels at sea, there is the old chapel of the Jesuits, which possesses a side altar covered with elaborately carved gilt work; and further on, an avenue of willow trees leads to the old and dilapidated Monastery of Franciscans, which was suppressed about twenty years ago by the Republican Government.

The cloister was deserted, the cells were empty, and the extensive pleasure-grounds, with avenues of splendid olive-trees, had been allowed to go to ruin; while the hideous turkey buzzards, or foul carrion crows of Peru, roosted on those olive branches, where once the little doves, now driven to the willows in the distant fields, had made their nests. Rank weeds cover the paths intended for quiet and religious contemplation, and everything wears a melancholy appearance.

Formerly Pisco was very unhealthy, and the inhabitants suffered much from fever, but eighteen years ago, a ditch, eight feet deep, was dug all round the town, which drains off the moisture, and now the town is remarkably healthy.

The plain to the southward is barren and unproductive. Stony mounds, with a few stunted shrubs,

and clumps of date palms, stretch away to the desert, and in a few places there are square swamps where reeds are cultivated for making matting for the roofs of the houses.

But to the north it is very different. In the immediate vicinity of the town are large pastures for asses, horses, and cattle, fields of *alfalfa* and vegetables, and many date palms and willows.

Some miles farther on, and bordering on the coast, is the large sugar estate of Caucato, worked by steam.

The plain of Pisco is covered with immense vineyards, principally owned by Don Domingo Elias,* which produce the most delicious grapes. He manufactures great quantities of wine and spirit called Pisco or Italia, which is exported to all parts of the coast, and also into the interior of Peru. His great wine store-room at Pisco contains more than a hundred casks of wine, of 280 to 300 gallons each; and a Portuguese, who has undertaken the charge, produces three kinds: one, an excellent wine, resembling Madeira, another inferior white wine, and a third like Bucellas. There was also a delicious liqueur made from a spirit distilled from the large white grape, flavoured with the chirimoya fruit. The common Pisco is stored in large warehouses on the beach, and shipped off to the ports of Peru and Chilé.

In the Bay of Pisco are the three Chincha Islands,

* The vine estates of Elias, at Pisco, are:—1. Buena Vista. 2. Palta. 3. Urrutia, formerly belonging to Don Juan Aliaga, Count of Luringancho. 4. Chacarilla. 5. Santa Cruz. 6. Hoyas.

situated about twelve miles from the mainland, whence immense cargoes of guano are shipped to England, the United States, and other parts.

On the 1st of January, 1853, I embarked on board a little launch, manned by Chinamen, to visit these islands, and landed next morning on the northern one, by means of a steep ladder, which leads up the perpendicular cliff to a wooden platform formed in the side of the rock.

This island is about 1400 varas* in length, and 600 in breadth. Its formation is entirely of felspar and quartz; and as the felspar is decomposed by the action of the air, it may easily be understood how all the shores of the island are broken and indented by caverns, which in process of time fall in, and thus diminish the size of the island. The chemical force of decomposition, and the mechanical action of the waves, have parted into three fragments that which once was one island; and in times yet more remote this island was probably connected with the coast, as is shown by a chain of rocks, the Ballista Isles, and finally the Island of San Gallan, which successively intervene between the Chinchas, and the hill of Lechuza on the coast, south of Pisco.

The whole of the northern Chincha Isle is covered with thick layers of guano, and the principal cutting, now full sixty feet high, is about a hundred yards from the edge of the cliff. Two hundred convicts are here employed in shovelling down the guano; whilst a small

* A *vara* is a Spanish yard. 100 varas=108 English yards.

steam-engine of about twelve horse power is used for digging it out, and also for loading the cars. A crane projects from the engine with chains, from which is suspended a large iron trough, like a coal-skuttle, with six teeth at the edges, and weighing eight cwt.

By working one chain this scuttle digs into the guano and fills itself, by connecting another the crane turns, and the contents of the trough are discharged into the car. About four loads fill the car, which is drawn down a tram road to the edge of the cliff, where it is emptied: and the guano is shovelled down a canvass shoot into the hold of the vessel which is loading beneath. At the same time strong-brained negroes are stationed in the hold to trim the cargo as it comes down. They receive thirteen dollars per 100 tons from the captain of the vessel, and wear iron masks, as the guano is more penetrating than coal-dust or steel-filings, and stronger than volatile salts.

There were five and twenty merchant vessels, chiefly English, lying off the island, but there are generally many more, and sometimes the number exceeds a hundred.

The convicts exist in a filthy collection of cane huts; besides which there is a little town containing two iron houses, occupied by Peruvian officials, English carpenters, and an Irish doctor.

During the three previous years, Don Domingo Elias held the sole contract for shipping the guano. He received twelve rials per ton of manure shipped, which is sold in England for 10*l*. Messrs. Gibbs in England, and Don Felipe Barrera, the Peruvian agent

for the United States, also receive a per-centage for exporting it.*

It is calculated that in 1853 there were 3,798,256 English tons of guano on the northern island.

In the less frequented parts of the island thousands of sea-birds still lay their eggs in little caverns excavated in the guano.† Some of the hills are covered with these nests. The legitimate guano bird is a sort of tern, the bill and legs of which are red: the top of the head, and ends of the wings and tail, black, and the lower part of the head white, with a long whisker-like feather curling out from under the ear on each side. The body is a dark slate-colour, the length about ten inches.

The enlightened government of the Incas of Peru knew well how to appreciate this valuable manure; it was much used throughout their empire, and a punishment of death is said to have been inflicted on any one who disturbed the birds during the breeding season.

Besides the guano terns, there are large flocks of divers, pelicans, and various kinds of gulls constantly visiting the islands.

The centre island is worked almost entirely by Chinese, who are imported in ship-loads to Callao. They are very badly treated, and, in consequence, frequently commit suicide, owing to the fearful nature of the work and a feeling of home-sickness. There

* Importation of guano into England :	1852	129,889 tons.
	1853	123,166 „
	1854	235,111 „

† *Guano*, a corruption of the Quichua word *Huanu*, meaning manure; as *Huanu challuap*, fish-manure: or, *Huanu piscup*, bird-manure.

are 672,903 square yards occupied by guano, containing about 2,000,000 tons.

The southern island has not yet been touched, and contains something over 5,680,000 tons of guano.*

How astonishing it seems that the little birds should have been providing, during a long series of centuries, in these distant islets of the Pacific, a vast deposit by which the worn-out lands throughout the populous parts of the globe are destined to be renovated. Wonderful indeed are the ways by which the Almighty has provided means "to satisfy the desolate and waste places, and to cause the bud of the tender herb to spring forth."

To the southward of Pisco, and separated from its vine-bearing plain by a sandy desert of forty miles, is the town of Yca, the capital of the province, and the largest town between Lima and Arequipa. It is about twenty miles from the sea coast, and separated from it by a desert and a range of sandy hills.

Half way between Pisco and Yca the monotony of the desert is relieved by the ruined soap *hacienda*, of Villa-ccuri,† in the centre of a forest of date palms, which covers an area of several miles.

Leaving Villa-ccuri, and riding over twenty miles of

* Large lumps of ammoniacal salts are often found in the guano. Sometimes the eggs of the birds are converted into this substance.

See the Report of a Commission appointed by the Peruvian Government to survey these islands, in November, 1853, and published at Lima by authority, in the form of a pamphlet: "Informes sobre la existencia de Huano, en las Islas de Chincha." Lima, 1854.

† *Villa-ccuri* is composed of a Spanish and a Quichua word, meaning the "city of gold." There are many *huacas* containing curious pottery and gold ornaments. (See Don Juan Avuela's Collection at Yca.)

sandy desert, we arrived at the edge of the valley of Yca, which is fringed by a wood of *algoroba*, or carob-trees (here called *guarangas*). This tree grows to a great size, often indeed attaining to the dimensions of a large oak, and is of very hard wood, which, from its weight, bends the trunk down, twists it round and round, makes the branches tie over-hand knots in themselves, and the tree to assume the wildest fantastic forms imaginable.

Beyond this wood of carob-trees we passed through the court-yard of the estate of Macaconas;* and then half a league of road leading through vineyards and cotton fields, and lined with hedgerows of fig-trees, jessamine, and roses, brought us into the town of Yca.

Yca is a large town with about 10,000 inhabitants. It is situated in a fertile and beautiful plain, and about two leagues from the feet of the cordillera of the Andes. The houses are flat-roofed, and built in the same style as at Lima and Pisco; many of them also are very handsomely furnished. The town has suffered fearfully from earthquakes. In 1745 the old town was entirely destroyed, and its ruins are still to be seen two leagues to the southward. In the present town the roof of the cathedral and the walls of one of the churches have fallen in.

The plaza in the centre of the town contains the

* The estate of Macaconas was the scene of a battle, during the war of independence. The patriot, or rebel forces, 3000 strong, under General Tristan, were surprised by the active Spanish General Valdez, who descended suddenly from the Sierra, and entirely defeated them, 7th April, 1822. The estate, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, is now the property of Don Gregorio Falconi.

churches of San Augustin and Santa Merced, and the handsome new house of Don Juan de Dios Quintana, a brother-in-law of Don Domingo Elias.

From the plaza there is a street leading down to a river, which is crossed in this season by a bridge of ropes and willow branches, but during the greater part of the year it is dry. Lined with tall willow-trees, it dashes, in a foaming torrent, through the fertile valley during one week, and in the next its bed has become a dry and dusty road.

Here the ladies of Yca bring out their chairs and sit talking in the cool of the evening. An avenue of willows and fruit-trees, leading from the bridge, is the fashionable promenade after the fatigues of a sultry day, and the snowy peaks of the Andes, bounding the view, give a delightful feeling of coolness to this charming spot.

The fertile plain of Yca is covered with extensive vine estates and cotton plantations, surrounded on three sides by a sandy desert, and on the east by the mountain chain of the maritime Andes.

One of the richest and most beautiful estates is that of Chavalina,* situated at the entrance of a ravine

* Estates at Yca :—

San Ramon	(Don Pedro Toledo),	vine.
Chavalina,	} (Don Juan de Dios Quintana),	vine.
Huamani,		
La Tinguina,	} (Don Domingo Elias),	cotton.
Oucage,		
San Geronino,	cotton.	
Belen,	vine.	
San José,	vine.	
San Xavier de Trapiche,	sugar.	
Macaonas,	cotton and vine.	
Desorillos,	cotton.	

through which the mountain road winds up into the the interior. It formerly belonged to the Jesuits, and is now the property of Don Juan de Dios Quintana. The vineyards cover a great extent of land, and yield about 20,000 arrobas of spirits a year (at two \$2 the arroba).

Don Juan de Dios is an excellent specimen of the country gentlemen to be met with on the coast of Peru. He pays much attention to various improvements, is kind and indulgent to his slaves and dependents, and receives a stranger with frank hospitality.

All the married slaves and workmen are allowed a piece of ground rent free, where they grow vegetables and breed pigs and poultry, while their children may be seen driving donkey loads of provision towards the town, and sitting before their heaps of fruit and vegetables in the market place of Yca. They are thus enabled to earn money and live in comparative comfort. One old slave at Chavalina had made several hundred dollars by lending money on usury; and, unable to write, he kept his accounts by notches on a stick.

The Indians and liberated slaves receive very good wages, and rent small tracts of land, where they grow vegetables for the market of Yca.

The road to the south, crossing the river and passing through several miles of vineyard, enters an extensive forest of carob-trees growing to a great size, and producing a pod which is used as fodder for mules and horses, and very highly prized. Occasionally we passed a few comfortable-looking huts built of the twisted

branches of the carob, and consequently assuming a peculiar corkscrew-like appearance.

The great sandy desert of Guayuri, forty miles in breadth, separates the forest of carob-trees on the southern verge of the valley of Yca, from the vineyards and cotton plantations of Palpa. Not a blade of vegetation is to be seen in any part of this arid wilderness, and the scorching rays of the sun reflect a painful glare on the sandy plain.

Suddenly the traveller leaves the desert, and finds himself surrounded by the smiling vineyards of Chimbo, Guayuri, and Santa Cruz, and the well-cultivated vale of Rio Grande, which is owned by Don Domingo Elias, and let out to various small proprietors.

A range of barren hills separates Rio Grande from the valley of Palpa. The latter contains extensive vineyards, wheat sufficient for the consumption of the whole population, about 4000 souls, with two flour-mills worked by water, and large plantations of cotton, the greater part of which is sold to Don Domingo Elias for exportion, at \$14 the quintal.

As it approaches the foot of the Andes, the valley of Palpa separates itself into the picturesque and fertile ravines of Sara-marca and of Mollaque; and on the range of hills that divide them, there is a thermal spring, and a very rich copper mine, which is worked by Don Manuel Frias, the sub-prefect of Yca.

The little town of Palpa is surrounded by gardens, well stocked with the most luscious fruits, and is

watered by a clear stream, overshadowed by rows of willow trees.

A succession of barren hills, twelve miles in breadth, intervenes between Palpa and the fertile plain of San Xavier, which is the exclusive property of Don Domingo Elias, and contains the vineyards of San Xavier, and the cotton estates of San José, Santa Isabella de Lacra, and Coyungo, besides numerous small vegetable farms near the feet of the cordillera.

The estate of San Xavier is one of the finest on the coast of Peru. The house is spacious and well furnished, and the courtyard is surrounded by a stone corridor, with massive columns supporting round arches. On one side are store-rooms and immense wine-presses; and on another is the handsome church, which was erected by the Jesuits when they owned these estates in the last century. The carved wood-work of the pulpit and altars is very fine, and the splendid gilt frames of the portraits of the generals of the order, give the old church an air of grandeur. In the time of the Jesuits, negro slaves were introduced, and the valley was cultivated with considerable profit. Their vineyards produced 70,000 arrobas of spirits annually, which they sold at \$5 to \$7 the arroba; the present price being about \$2 the arroba: and thus they must have realised great wealth not only from this valley, but also from their estates at Yca and Pisco. When, therefore, the colonial authorities, by order of the Spanish minister Aranda, greedily seized upon their property in 1767, San Xavier must have been in a most prosperous condition; but since that time the

estates had been gradually decreasing in value, until Don Domingo Elias purchased them from the Republican Government.

The cotton estates of Lacra and San José contain water-mills, with machinery for separating the seeds, and presses for packing the cotton.

For its exportation, Don Domingo has lately opened a port on the coast, forty miles to the north of Point Nasca, and ships off about 12,000 quintals of cotton annually from his own estates, and 28,000 more which he buys up from the *haciendas* of other proprietors.

This port, called Lomas, is to the southward of a remarkable rounded hill, called "La mesa de Dona Maria," off which is the rock of Infiernillos, in lat. $14^{\circ} 41' S.$, long. $74^{\circ} 54' W.$ This harbour is separated by hilly deserts from any supply of water. A few miles inland is the mysterious Cerro de las Bruxas, or hill of witches; and the only inhabitant is an old man named Manuel, who has one or two murders on his conscience, and occasionally starts up in the night, and runs screaming along the cliffs, chased by imaginary goblins.

The cotton is brought down on mules; each one carries two bales of 175lbs. each. The cotton is shipped on a large raft, which is launched in a heavy surf, and brought alongside the vessel.

The distance from the port of Lomas to the valley of San Xavier is about seventy miles, over a succession of sandy and barren hills.

To the southward of San Xavier, and divided from it by thirty miles of rocky desert, is the valley of

1 20,000
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Nasca, which, from the peculiar mode of its irrigation, is perhaps the most interesting on the coast.

Nasca itself is a small and very quiet little town, with one church, ruined by an earthquake, and a convent, suppressed by the Republic; but the valley in which it is situated, has, by the care and ingenuity of the ancient government of the Incas, been converted into a beautiful and fertile spot, producing every vegetable and every fruit that can be imagined, and all of the most excellent quality.

The valley, which is a perfect little oasis, with forty miles of desert on its north side, and nearly a hundred to the south, descends from the sierra by an easy and gradual slope for about seven leagues, widening as it approaches the coast, and is hemmed in by the giant spurs of the cordillera.

The whole of this space is covered with rich and fertile *haciendas*, yielding large crops of grapes, cotton, axi pepper, maize, melons, potatoes, camotes, yucas, lemons, citrons, chirimoyas, and every kind of fruit; yet, all that nature has provided for the irrigation of this lovely valley, is a small water-course, which is dry for eleven months out of the twelve.

But, in former days, before the arrival of the destroying Spaniards, the engineering skill of the Incas had contended with the arid obstacles of nature, and, by executing a work almost unequalled in the history of irrigation, the wilderness of Nasca was converted into a smiling paradise.

This was effected by cutting deep trenches along the whole length of the valley, and so far up into the

mountains, that to this day the inhabitants know not to what distances they are carried.

High up the valley are the main trenches, called, in the language of the Incas, *puquios*. They are some four feet in height, with the sides and roof lined with stones. As they descend, they separate into smaller *puquios*, which ramify in every direction over the valley, supplying each estate with the most delicious water, and feeding the little streams that irrigate and fertilise the soil.

The main trenches are many feet below the surface, and at intervals of about two hundred yards there are *ojos*, or small holes, by which workmen may go down into the vault and clear away any obstruction. The *puquios* diverge in every direction, some of them crossing over others, and, before they reach the termination of cultivation towards the south, all the water has been exhausted on the various estates. There are fifteen vine and cotton estates watered by this means in the vale of Nasca.*

- * Viz. :—Cajuca (vine), Don José Soto.
 Gobernadora (vine), Don Fernando Orton.
 Achaca (vine), Don José Torres.
 Anglia (vine), } Don Basilio Trigos.
 Orcona (vine), }
 Guachuca } (vine and cotton), Don Augustin Muñoz.
 Aja¹ }
 San Miguel (vine).
 Bisambra (vine).
 Pangaravi (vine).
 Cantayo (vine).
 Curbé (vine).²
 Belen (vine).
 Majoro (vine).

¹ At Aja there is a water-mill for cleansing the cotton.

On the summit of one of the mountains which overhang Nasca, is the deserted gold mine of Cerro Blanco. It is a wild and desert place, where the most perfect silence, unbroken by the slightest sound, prevails, and the view is most striking. The valley beneath looks, from this height, like some broad river winding its way through the sandy desert towards the ocean; and the enormous masses of mountains, ascending one above the other in every direction, give a slight notion of the majestic grandeur of the Andes.

A lane, shaded by orange and fig-trees, leads from the modern town of Nasca to the ancient ruins dating from the time of the Incas, on the side of the mountains. This deserted town is built on terraces up the steep acclivity on the southern edge of the valley. The houses contain spacious rooms, with niches resembling those in the ruins at Hervay, near Cañete, which clearly point to an Incarial origin. On an isolated hill in the centre of the ruins is a fortress with a semi-circular front wall, and a corresponding out-work at the foot of the hill. The walls of the houses and fortress are built of stone.

To the southward of Nasca, an enormous desert, ninety miles in breadth, extends to the sugar yielding vale of Acari. Farther along the coast are the vales of Yaucos, Atequipa, and Chala, abounding in olives; and the fertile plains of Atico, Chapata, Ocoña, and Camana, separated from each other by deserts extending from the cordillera to the Pacific.

Such are the general features of the coast districts of Peru. Nasca was the farthest point to which I

attained before striking across the Andes, in a direct route to Cuzco, the city of the Incas.

The deserts are, it is true, wild and dreary expanses, without shade or means of existence; but wherever there is a drop of water, the country becomes abundantly fertile, and the waving fields of sugar-cane, groves of willows and of fruit-trees, and graceful vineyards, form a striking contrast to the surrounding wilderness.

It is said that on the southern coast, in the neighbourhood of Chapata and Atico, there are still some isolated oases nestling in a bed of sand, which have never been visited by Europeans, and are believed still to be inhabited by happy and unenslaved Indians. Strange tales are told of benighted travellers having lost their way in the desert, and come unexpectedly on these favoured spots; where they have indistinctly seen, through the gloom of night, the dark fringes of foliage which bordered the trackless wilderness.*

The largest desert on the coast is that of Sechura, in the neighbourhood of Payta, where it is reported that during the cloudless nights, the wayworn traveller is charmed by the sounds of sweet music mysteriously wafted across the sand.†

Throughout the cultivated valleys, excepting, perhaps, in the immediate neighbourhood of Lima, the people, both Negroes, Indians, and the numerous

* See *Memoirs* of General Miller.

† On the authority of Dr. Miranda, of Cuzco, who experienced this mysterious but agreeable visitation, when journeying across the Pampa del Medio Mundo, with General Orbegoso.

shades between them, appeared for the most part happy and contented.

With a charming climate, and abundance of all the necessities of life, they lead a most enjoyable existence. The numerous *fiestas* of the church vary their labour with oft-recurring days of amusement, the young girls all wear white satin shoes and other finery, and their masters, so far as I had an opportunity of seeing, treat them with unvaried kindness.

The country gentlemen of the Peruvian coast, as a class, are remarkable for their attention to their estates, and the charity and benevolence they display, both to their own dependants and to strangers. The unbounded hospitality, indeed, of all those who made me, an unknown and solitary stranger, often without a letter of introduction, their welcome guest, far exceeded anything I had ever experienced or heard of before. At length, the examination of the coast being completed, I made preparation for the second part of the journey to Cuzco, over the table-lands and valleys of the Andes.*

* To show that the hospitality of such hosts as I met with on the coast of Peru is not forgotten, and as a slight tribute of grateful remembrance of their unbounded kindness, their names are here recorded :—

At Cañete, Don Mariano Osma and Don Pedro Paz Soldan.

Chincha, Don Antonio Prada.

Pisco, Don Francisco Calmet.

Yca, Don José Blas Santos Martinez and Don Juan de Dios Quintana.

Palpa, Don José Tijero.

San Xavier, Don Pedro Herrera.

Lomas, Don Isaac Ladd (of Vermont, New England).

Nasca, Don Basilio Trigos.

CHAPTER III.

JOURNEY TO CUZCO.

THE SIERRA.

THE journey across the cordillera of the Andes is usually, if possible, undertaken in the dry season. Between the months of December and March the rainy season prevails, the windows of heaven are open, and the streams are swollen to deep and sometimes impassable torrents.

It was on the 1st of February, 1853, that, taking leave of the kind people of Yca and Chavalina, I commenced the ascent of the cordillera. Their kindness had supplied me with every necessary provision, and my cargo mule was laden with wine, chocolate, almonds and raisins, *dulces*, biscuit, and spirits for fuel.

At Huamani, a small outlying vineyard, belonging to Chavalina, the last on the coast side of the cordillera, I was joined by my guide, Agustin Carpio by name, a most respectable muleteer, who is employed in the trade of importing *pisco* from the vineyards of Yca into the sierra, and rents three *fanegadas* of grazing land for his mules, at \$70 a-year, from Don Juan de Dios Quintana.

The wine and spirits are conveyed by mules in goat-skins called *odres*, which are flayed off the unfortunate animals while yet alive; this cruel practice being adopted in the belief that the skin taken off in this fashion is more durable.*

On the coast, large earthenware jars, called *botijas*, are used, two of them forming a mule load.

Early in the morning of the 1st of February we left Huamani, and passing up a valley covered with pastures well stocked with cattle, horses, and mules, we entered an uninhabited ravine, bounded on either side by lofty and almost perpendicular mountains. Through it, the river Yca rushed noiselessly along, lined with willows, a kind of laurel bearing yellow flowers called *chilca*, and a tree with bunches of fragrant red berries called *molle*.

Along great part of its length, the ravine was bordered by stone terraces, the *andeneria* or hanging-gardens of the ancient Peruvians, sometimes eight or ten deep, and becoming narrower as they ascended the mountain. Although now in ruins, they bore witness that this wilderness was, previous to the arrival of the Spaniards, a fertile and populous tract of country.

Passing up a winding road or *cuesta*, at the termination of the ravine, we first became aware to what a height we had ascended, the view extending over the mountain tops, far away into the distance.

* Don Manuel Ugalde, who collects India-rubber in the forests east of Cuzco, has attempted to introduce *odres* of that material, to prevent the horrible cruelty of flaying the goats alive.

The slopes of the steep ascent are covered with lupin, heliotrope, verbena, and scarlet salvia; and on the road were crowds of small insects rolling balls of mud, like the scarabæus of the Egyptians.

We crossed over the crest of the mountain, and came upon a green and fertile ravine abounding in fields of potatoes and lucerne, in which is situated the little sierra village of Tambillo. The terrace system of cultivation is here carried on to some extent.

On leaving Tambillo, the water began to come down, that is, a thick, heavy cloud descends to the earth, heavily charged with water. This commences a little after noon, and lasts until the following morning, during the months of January, February, and March.

Ascending through the cold vapour bath, up mountain after mountain, with perpendicular precipices descending directly from the mule path, the bottoms of which were hidden by the mist, and rendered frightful by the roar of unseen torrents, we reached the little village of Ayavi, situated on the top of a hill covered with brilliant green herbage, after a ride of thirty-six miles from Huamani.

Early the following morning, we started for the summit of the pass over the cordillera, where there was said to be a small natural cave, in which travellers could pass the night.

The road passes over broad plains, or *pampas*, covered with grass, and gradually rising one above the other; intersected by deep ravines, with torrents dashing down them in every direction.

These pampas were covered with large flocks of

graceful *vicuñas*, roaming about on the elevated wildernesses in unrestrained and joyous liberty, looking, at a distance, like deer in an English park.

They are beautiful animals, of a light fawn colour, with long slender necks, and small camel-shaped heads. Their wool is fine and silky; and, in place of hoofs, they are provided with two strong hooks or talons, by which they climb the most inaccessible precipices with wonderful agility. A large kind of rabbit, with short fore legs, and bushy tail, called a *biscache*, a kind of partridge called *yuta*, and a loudly screaming plover, are the other inhabitants of these lofty regions.

A ride of eight leagues brought us to the frozen district, or Riti-suyu, where the snow was falling heavily.

Here, on a broad stone pampa, the road divides into two, one leading to the city of Ayacucho, and the other to Huancavelica and Castro Vireyna. The former place is famous for an extensive quicksilver mine, discovered by a Portuguese named Henrique Garces, in 1567;* and from that time to the war of independence, it yielded 1,040,000 quintals. Latterly, however, it has fallen off, as quicksilver is imported at a cheaper rate from California, and carried past the mouth of the mine at Huancavelica, for the use of the silver mines of Cerro Pasco.

In Castro Vireyna, some very rich silver mines were opened shortly after the conquest. The fame of them spread far and wide, and Don Lope Garcia de Castro,

* The Incas were acquainted with the existence of mercury here, and used the vermillion found in the mine, which they called *ychma*.

who was viceroy of Peru from 1564 to 1569, made a journey to visit them, with his lady.

On this occasion, it is related, the path from the house where the vice-queen lodged, to the shaft of the principal mine, was paved with ingots of silver: and the province has ever since been called Castro Vireyna.

The pampa, where the roads divide, was covered with snow, surrounded by lofty mountains, and intersected in every direction, at this season, by huge rivers dashing along furiously, some to the Atlantic, and others to the Pacific, and swelled by thousands of smaller streams and waterfalls, that rushed noisily across the path at every yard.

The sky was charged with thick mist, snow was falling heavily, and the roaring waters on every side made a deafening noise. Perched about, among little heaps of rock, were numbers of biscaches sitting on their hind legs, while here and there was a group of vicuñas quietly resting in the snow. It was a wild and dismal scene, and the rivers in their swollen state were very difficult to cross, the foaming flood coming down with tremendous force, frequently reaching up to our saddles.

As night approached we reached the *cumbre*, or highest part of the pass, in a narrow defile surrounded by frowning peaks of black rock, which contrasted strangely with the masses of snow that capped their summits.

Here the cave was situated where the night should be passed. It consisted of an overhanging rock in the

face of a perpendicular cliff, but to our horror we found it full of water, with a stream dripping from its roof.

The ground in the vicinity was covered with large tufts of a long kind of grass called *ychu*, heavily charged with snow, which rendered it impossible to lie down. The night was pitch dark, a heavy fall of snow was coming down, and owing to the great elevation the spirits would not ignite.

Under these depressing circumstances, with Agustin Carpio ready to sink under the weight of our misfortunes, after a cold supper of almonds and raisins, &c., it was necessary to pass the night in a standing position; so placing my head on the mule's back, I passed a tolerably comfortable night.

From the uproar around us sleep was impossible. At about 10 p.m. the thunder began to roar loudly, above, around, and below us; while flashes of forked lightning illumined the scene with its dazzling light, exposing to view the craggy peaks of the cordillera, and then again leaving us in utter darkness.

It was the most sublime sight I ever beheld; perched thus, in the very midst of Heaven's artillery, with the thunder crashing far beneath our feet, and the black peaks appearing and disappearing in the intervals of the flashes.

As morning dawned, nature assumed a more cheerful appearance; it ceased to snow, the heavy mists gathered themselves together, and rolled slowly down the ravines, and at 5 a.m. we recommenced the journey.

After the summit of the pass has been crossed, the road passes for two leagues down a very steep declivity composed of large slippery rocks, with waterfalls tumbling over them. In some places the mules had to jump down four feet, at others the path was entirely gone, and the beasts had to spring from one ledge to another, where a false step would have plunged us to the bottom of a yawning precipice.

At length we completed the descent, and entered the broad valley of Palmito Chico, with the river of the same name flowing through its centre.

It was covered with excellent pasture, where herds of cattle were grazing, and bounded on one side by the snow-capped cordillera we had lately passed, and on the other by a less elevated range of mountains, whose summits were also covered with snow.

At this period of the year the river was impassable, but by making a round of two leagues, we crossed it by a natural granite bridge called Rumi-chaca, and after another league of precipitous road, reached a shepherd's hut, the first habitation on the interior side of the cordillera.

Surrounded by wide grassy slopes, where sheep and llamas were grazing, the little hut was built in a circular form, of round stones, with a conical roof of ychu-grass. The large family of children and dogs, in this far distant abode, appeared in comfortable and happy contrast with the scene of the preceding night; and as the usual place for crossing the river of Palmito Grande was now impassable, a pretty little barefooted Indian girl undertook to guide us to a temporary

bridge which the shepherds had thrown across the river.*

Having passed over a range of mountains covered with long grass, we commenced a most perilous descent, until the precipice became at last perfectly perpendicular, and our footing as slippery as glass from numberless little streams trickling over its sides, and, after a descent of five hundred feet, uniting with the impetuous torrent.

We then had to skirt along the edge of a precipice, on a path so narrow, that while one leg grated uncomfortably against the rocks, the other hung sheer over the abyss. Nor was this the only peril, for these numerous streams had, in their course over the path, worn it away in many parts. In one place, the only track ascended a nearly perpendicular rock for eight feet, with nothing but little ledges, in which the sagacious mule stuck the points of her hoofs.

At last the mass of projecting rock approached the other side of the abyss, and here a few poles had been thrown across to serve as a bridge.

Five hundred feet below, the torrent dashed over huge masses of rock in its wild career, hedged in by hardy little thorn-trees of a deep mournful green, which managed to take root in the clefts and droop over the seething foam.

* Some of these shepherds, on the distant heights of the Andes, are said to amass considerable wealth.

In 1800, on the pampa of Quilcata, in the province of Parinacochas, Ulloa relates that there was an old woman, named Ines Capcha Guamani, who possessed 20,000 head of sheep, and innumerable llamas. She lived with some shepherd-boys in a little hut, badly clothed; and her only aliment was potatoes and cocoa.—*Not. Sec. (App.)* p. 616.

Above us, on one side rose the mountains, straight up for at least 2000 feet, with beautiful cascades descending in every direction,—some of them with a fall of full 800 feet—while on the other side was a lower and less abrupt range. The scenery at this point was magnificent beyond description.

It was a momentous second or two that passed, as we ran over the slender poles, which rolled about at every step, and rendered a footing very unsafe.

A league more of mountain road brought us to a narrow swampy plain, surrounded by hills, and in the face of a cliff in one of these was the cave of San Luis, where we passed the night.

The cave, the lower part of which is of red sandstone, supporting a mass of conglomerate rock, is twelve feet deep, six high, and perfectly dry and inhabitable.

Next morning, leaving the plain of San Luis, we descended a cuesta, and entered a ravine, through which flows the river Hatun-pampa.

The road passes close to the edge of its right bank, which is perpendicular, and about thirty feet high. The scenery was quite enchanting. Lofty mountains rise up on either side of the ravine, the upper halves perpendicular and pillared by the action of many waterfalls, that course down in every direction; and the steep lower slopes were clothed with rich pasturage, on which large flocks and herds were grazing, with here and there a shepherd's hut.

At noon we reached the little village of Hatun-

sallu (Great Waterfall), so called from a cataract which here thunders down into the river.

From this spot, as we descended the ravine, the vegetation gradually began to increase; beautiful wild flowers lined the sides of the path, and here and there a deep green potato patch on the side of the mountain, denoted the increase of inhabited spots.

In the evening, we emerged from the ravine, and entered the broad plain of Hatun-pampa, where we passed the night in the hospitable farm of La Florida. The early morning in this comparatively temperate part of the sierra is enchanting. On every side was the busy move of rural life; the pretty Indian girls with their arms round each other's waists, leading the flocks to pasture; the cows being driven into the farms, the rapid river flowing through the centre of the busy scene, and the magnificent uplands rising on all sides, produced an effect of great beauty and enjoyment.

On the plain there were large flocks of llamas and alpacas; the latter being a smaller species of llama, already famous in Europe for the silky texture of its wool. In ancient times, the Incas wove beautiful fabrics from the alpaca wool, and it is now very largely imported into England.

The first Englishman who ever manufactured it was a hatter, who, in 1737, made hats in Lima of alpaca wool at a cost of \$4 to \$5, at a time when Parisian hats cost \$12 to \$16. Having made his fortune, he returned to England, leaving the trade in the hands of a Mestizo* named Felipe de Vera.

* Mestizo, a caste between an Indian and a white.

From Hatun Pampa, a road of thirty miles, over a lofty range of mountainous *puna* or table-land, leads to the edge of the *cuesta*, at the foot of which is situated the city of Ayacucho. It appeared from this height a mass of red tiles nestling in a forest of fruit-trees, which extended up the sides of the mountains, while the view is bounded by the heights of Condorkunka, at the feet of which was fought the famous battle of Ayacucho.

To the left were the wide pampas of Cangallo, and lower down, but still at a considerable elevation above the city of Ayacucho, is the battle-field of Chupas. It is bounded on one side by the Lambras-huaycu, or ravine of alders, and on the other by a small stream which waters the wheat farm of Cochabamba.

On this spot a famous battle was fought between young Almagro and his adherents, who had assassinated Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, and Vaca de Castro, the representative of the King of Spain. Almagro, a hot-headed youth, the avenger of his father's death, had marched from Cuzco; and Vaca de Castro came forth from Guamanga,* accompanied by the corregidor, Don Pedro Alvarez Holguin, the same cavalier who had taken Guatimozin prisoner in the lakes of Mexico.

The two armies met on the 16th of September, 1542, and a furious and bloody encounter followed. The battle was long doubtful; but at length Castro was victorious, and out of 850 Spaniards that Almagro brought into the field, 700 were killed. The victors

* Guamanga, the old name for Ayacucho.

lost about 350 men; and among them was the Corregidor Holguin, who was buried in the little church of San Cristoval, at Guamanga, which was built by Pizarro, and still exists. On the defeated side, the famous Greek gunner, Pedro de Candia, one of the fourteen who crossed the line with Pizarro, on the Isle of Gorgona, was among the slain.

From the plain of Chupas, a long and weary cuesta leads down towards the city, and passing down a steep street, surrounded by thickets of prickly pears, we entered Ayacucho, where I was received with the greatest kindness by the prefect, Don Manuel Tello, and his sisters.

The most ancient inhabitants of this part of Peru were the warlike tribe of Pocras who, under their chief Anco-hulluc, made a desperate resistance against the invasion of the Incas. Defeated in the fierce battle of Yahuar-pampa, the Pocras were again almost annihilated by the armies of the Inca Viracocha, at Ayacucho; and subsequently, when serving out rations of llama's flesh to his troops, the Inca gave a share to a falcon that was soaring over his head; exclaiming, "Huaman-ca," (take it, Falcon!) a name that has ever since been given to the district.

When the Spaniards conquered the country, Pizarro founded the city of Guamanga on the 24th of June, 1539, and it became the capital of a province, and the seat of a corregidor, under the viceroys.

The town is hemmed in on three sides by steep mountains descending from the pampa of Cangallo, which, wherever it is possible, are covered with fields

of maize, and nearer the town are large fruit-gardens, and thickets of prickly pears.

The streets of Ayacucho are built at right angles, sloping gradually from north to south. In the centre is the great square, or *plaza mayor*, and on its south side are the handsome cathedral, built of limestone with two towers, and a broad front, the cabildo or court-house, and the university. The three other sides consist of private houses, with handsome arcades, and stone pillars supporting circular arches, the ground-floors being let out as shops. Above the arcades are broad covered balconies, leading into the rooms occupied by the families of the principal people of the town, and in the rear there is always a large courtyard.

In the early morning the plaza presents a most animated and picturesque appearance. It is covered with huge parasols, consisting of a pole stuck in the ground, and supporting a frame-work roof, thatched with matting. Under these, the Indian girls sit with their fruits, vegetables, cloth, shoes, and other merchandize, spread out for sale, while numbers of persons of both sexes pass to and fro, amidst the labyrinth of gigantic umbrellas.

The dress of the women is graceful, and of the most brilliant colours. Next the skin they wear a cotton petticoat, over which is a shirt of crimson, sky-blue, or purple, made of woollen stuff. Round the shoulders a mantle is worn, trimmed with gay ribbons, and secured across the chest by a large silver pin. The hair is dressed in two long tail plaits, and on the head

is a piece of cloth called *chucupa*, folded square, like the head-dresses of the Roman peasantry.

The men usually dress in a coarse blue jacket and a pair of black woollen breeches, with sandals of untanned llama's hide, turned up round the sides, and secured with strips of leather.

Many of the market people come on foot from considerable distances, the women carrying their babies on their backs in bundles called *ccepi* and the young men using a walking-stick for support in passing up and down the wearisome ravines.

The south part of Ayacucho was formerly broken in two by a deep ravine; but, in the first year of this century, the Spanish intendente, Don Demetrio O'Higgins, spanned it with a number of well-built stone arches. On the west side of the town, at the foot of the mountains, is an avenue of double rows of willow trees, bordered on one side by the rapid torrent of Lambras-huaycu, and on the other by fruit-gardens. It is the fashionable promenade in the cool of the evening.

There are more than twenty churches in Ayacucho, all built of stone, and generally with handsome towers. A bishopric was established here by a bull of Pope Paul V., on the 20th of July, 1609, and Fray Agustin de Carbajal was installed first bishop in 1615. Since his time there have been twenty-five bishops, of whom only twelve have been natives of Spain.

There have been several bishops of some celebrity in Guamanga. Don Cristobal de Castilla y Zamora, a natural son of King Charles II. of Spain, was installed

in 1679, and became famous for his zeal in converting the wild Indians of the primæval forests. He also founded the university of San Cristobal, and expended \$70,000 of his private fortune upon its endowment.

Another remarkable bishop was Don Diego Ladron de Guevara, who completed the cathedral, and was afterwards, 1713-16, bishop of Quito, and viceroy of Peru.

The Jesuits had a handsome church and cloister in Guamanga, now used as a college for young priests, and another seminary for boys has lately been established by government. The monasteries, seven in number, were all suppressed at the time of the independence, and now a wretched pittance is allotted for one chaplain to officiate in their respective churches, some of which are very handsome, that of San Domingo especially so. In those of Santa Clara and San Francisco de Assisi a sermon is preached twice a week in Quichua, the language of the Indians.

There are two nunneries, Santa Clara and Santa Teresa, the former of which was the scene of a strange romance.

In 1617, a young ensign in the Spanish army having slain his adversary in a duel, fled to the bishop's palace for sanctuary. His name was Don Alonso Diaz Ramirez de Guzman, and he confessed to several other murders of the same fashionable kind. From various circumstances, however, the suspicion of the bishop was aroused ; and, after undergoing an examination, the youthful duellist proved to be a woman. A full confession then followed : her name was Dona Catalina

de Erauso, a nun of the convent of San Sebastian, in Guipuzcoa, whence she had escaped, and, dressed in man's clothes, embarked for the New World.

Landing at Payta, she eventually attained the rank of ensign, and became famous as the greatest duellist in Peru.

The bishop placed her in the convent of Santa Clara, whence she was subsequently sent to Lima with a guard of six priests, and placed in another convent, where she remained for two years, and was finally transmitted to Spain. It is added, that the pope eventually granted her permission to wear man's clothes, and she went out to Mexico as an officer in the viceroy's guard.

The name of Guamanga was changed to Ayacucho by the republican government after the decisive victory in 1824. Here is the prefecture of the department, and the superior court of justice, consisting of four vocales, and a fiscal, whose judgments are enforced by a police force of about forty soldiers. The prefect in 1853 was, as has been before stated, Don Manuel Tello, a gentleman possessed of extensive estates in the vicinity, principally producing wheat and vegetables.

His house in the plaza belonged, in the last century, to Don Cypriano Santa Cruz, whose brother, the dean of Guamanga, founded the convent of Buena Muerte and the church of Santa Anna. On a dark stormy night in 1760, a baby was found at the door of Don Cypriano's house, and was taken in and adopted by the benevolent dean. The child received the name of José Santa Cruz, and became a colonel of militia at

Cuzco. Subsequently he removed to La Paz ; and, marrying the daughter of the Indian chief Calomana, became the father of Don Andres Santa Cruz, who was many years President of Bolivia, and, from 1836 to 1839, Protector of the Peru-Bolivian confederation.

Three widowed and one married sister reside with Don Manuel Tello. The eldest, Dona Josefa,* refused the hand of General Narvaez, the famous Spanish minister, when serving as a subaltern in Peru under the Viceroy Laserna. The third sister, Dona Manuela, is married to Colonel Ormasa, and suffers the deepest grief during the unavoidable absence of her husband at Lima.

The evening assemblies of the wit and beauty of Ayacucho, at the house of the prefect, are most agreeable. The young ladies of this sierra town are remarkable for their beauty, intelligence, and kindness of disposition ; and their names will ever find a place in the memory of the traveller who has enjoyed the privilege of their society.

Dona Micaela, the youngest sister of the prefect, is the widow of the gallant General Zubiaga, to whom she was married when only thirteen. In 1842, he was sent with a detachment to the valley of Xauxa, where he encountered the troops of the usurper, Torico, under Colonel Lopera, at a place called Inca-huasi, and was mortally wounded. On receiving the sad intelligence, his devoted young wife mounted a mule, and, heedless of the perils and dangers of the road, arrived in time

* The lamented death of this excellent lady took place in the end of the year 1853.

to receive his last words, and he expired in her arms.

Dona Micaela is very religious, and devoted to the instruction of the Indian servants, and to strict and frequent attendance at sermons and confession. The former, indeed, were sufficiently attractive, owing to the eloquence of Dr. Taforo, a learned Chilian missionary, who preached in the cathedral nearly every evening, and roused the good people of Ayacucho to a feeling of admiration for the beauty of his language, and a deep sense of the error of their ways.

Twenty miles to the north of Ayacucho is the pretty little town of Guanta. The intervening country, though broken up by deep ravines, is, for the most part, well cultivated and populous. About half-way is the village of Paccay-casa, surrounded by thickets of prickly pears, fig-trees, the *lucumo*, an agreeable fruit on a large tree, *paltas* or alligator pears, and the *paccay*, whence the village derives its name.

This fruit grows in great abundance on a very tall tree, and consists of a long pod containing large black seeds, embedded in a sweet, juicy sort of cotton, which is very delicious.

The houses of the Indians, in the vicinity of Ayacucho, are built of unhewn stones, with damp earth in the interstices, and roofed with red tiles on a framework of *maguey* poles. This graceful plant grows in great abundance. Rising up to a height of fifteen feet, the pole forms a useful timber for many purposes, and the sharp-pointed leaves are very strong, yielding a fibre which is twisted into ropes of various sizes.

The food of the Indians consists of eggs, potatoes, and yuca (*jatophra manihot*), a long root in shape like a parsnip, boiled together in a pot. The country also yields abundance of wheat, and the flour is sold at \$1 the fanega. Maize, too, is much cultivated, and made into many kinds of cakes, a sweetmeat called *huminta*, and a kind of hasty-pudding called *masamora*, a very favourite dish.

The leaf of the coca-plant, and chicha (a fermented liquor from maize), flavoured sometimes with various fruits, may be numbered among the luxuries of the Indians.

They have knowledge also of the medicinal qualities of certain plants; making use, among others, of a warm beverage from the flowers of the scarlet salvia for curing coughs.

The roads in the sierra are very picturesque, independent of the magnificence of the surrounding scenery. The llamas, met at every turn, with their long, graceful necks and expressive faces, journeying leisurely along before their Indian masters, form a remarkable feature. They come into Ayacucho in droves, and are capable of bearing great fatigue, and going a long time without food; but their average day's journey is only fifteen miles, and they carry about fifty pounds as a load.

The graceful Indian women, too, trudging along the road, with their babies slung on their backs, and their taper fingers busy spinning cotton, form a charming foreground to the view.

The Indians of the neighbourhood of Ayacucho are very clever and expert in carving figures out of a

beautiful white alabaster, and are also famous for their skill in working silver filagree ornaments. The pay of the day-labourer averages about nine shillings a week; but out of this nearly four per cent. has to be paid in the shape of an infamous and tyrannical capitation-tax.*

Guanta is a pleasant little town, consisting of a plaza, with a few streets leading from it, and surrounded by fruit-gardens.

To the eastward, the lofty mountain range of Yquicha rises up behind the town in cultivated slopes, and terminating in snowy peaks. Behind them is the wild country of the Yquichanos, consisting of snow-clad mountains, intersected by ravines and inaccessible fortresses, admirably adapted for defensive warfare.

This Indian tribe of Yquichanos fought furiously in defence of the royalist cause, and at the time of the battle of Ayacucho, garrisoned the town of Guanta.

Firm in their loyalty, and scorning to yield to the republic, they retreated to their mountains; but, in 1828, they again issued forth, defeated a republican regiment of infantry, and once more occupied Guanta. They then advanced upon Ayacucho, proclaiming Ferdinand VII.; but, on the 18th of November, were defeated by the citizens on the Pampa del Arco, aided by the republican Morochucos, or Indians of Cangallo. The president, Gamarra, in 1832, made an attempt to subdue them, but his troops were unable to penetrate into their country. Retreating from ravine to ravine,

* The Government of General Castilla has this year, 1855, abolished this capitation-tax.

they hurled down huge stones upon the enemy, and at length succeeded in driving the republican soldiers from the territory of Yquicha.

To this day they preserve entire independence of the authorities of the Republic, proclaim their allegiance to Ferdinand VII.,* are governed by *alcaldes*, or justices of the peace, elected by themselves, and no tax-gatherer dares to enter their country.

At the same time, however, though refusing to submit to the capitation or any other tax, they punctually pay their tithes to the priests who come amongst them, and treat a single stranger with courteous hospitality.

They now come into Guanta to procure cotton and other commodities, in exchange for their wool and vegetables. I saw several of them in the plaza, who were distinguished by an upright gait, independent air, and handsome features.

It is thus that the true lovers of liberty have ever fought on the side of loyalty and honour, while republicans and self-styled liberals have proved the greatest enemies of real freedom.

France, under the influence of its democratic liberality, crushed, after a glorious resistance, the peasantry of La Vendée. Spain, ruled by a gang of democrats, and supported with men and money by the liberal government of England, succeeded in overwhelming the gallant defenders of the liberties of the Basque Provinces. But the Yquichanos in Peru have been more fortunate in their resistance to democratic

* They had not in 1853 heard of his death, and of the accession of Isabella II.

tyranny, and have succeeded in permanently resisting the oppression of the republican government.

They are, in all respects, a most interesting people, and an honour to the Indian races of South America ; disproving, to some extent, the heartless opinion of many Europeans, that it is decreed by Providence that the aboriginal tribes of the New World must shortly be entirely exterminated.

At the foot of the mountains which bound their territory, to the westward, the independence of Peru was decided ; and I started with Colonel Mosol, who had been in the battle, to examine the field, on the 13th of February.

Having traversed the Pampa del Arco, an extensive plain on the east side of the city of Ayacucho, we descended into the deep valley of the Pongora, and passed several thriving farms. That belonging to Don Manuel Tello, called La Tortura, is surrounded by fig-trees, vines, and fields of alfalfa. Further on are the estates of Glorietta and Santo Domingo, with corn-mills over the river ; and on the surrounding hills wheat is extensively cultivated.

Crossing the river Pongora, the path winds up a long and lofty cuesta, leading to an elevated plain covered in many places with laurel-bushes, bearing a yellow flower called *chilca*. A five miles' ride brought us to the little village of Quinoa, inhabited by Indians, and ornamented with rows of alder-trees, tall bushes of fuchsias, and fields of potatoes.

The Indian *alcaldes* or authorities of the village, distinguished from their brethren by staves of office

encircled by small copper bands, the number of which denotes the period the bearer has occupied his post, came out to receive us; and the hospitality of the kind and simple inhabitants was profuse and unaffected.

Ayacucho is 10,240 feet above the level of the sea, and Quinoa is about 800 feet higher, or 1626 feet above the great St. Bernard. The famous battle-field is within a quarter of a mile of the village, and on rather higher ground.

At the time of the battle, the sea was commanded by an insurgent squadron under Lord Cochrane, and Lima was occupied by the Columbian general, Bolivar; so that the Spanish army had been for some months confined to the interior, completely cut off from communication with the mother country.

The rebel, or, as it is now called, the patriot army, consisting of about 7000 men, had retreated before the royalists under the Viceroy Laserna, who advanced from Cuzco; several skirmishes had taken place, and eventually the rebels occupied the village of Quinoa on December 6, 1824. Guamanga and Guanta were in the hands of the Spaniards, and the insurgent forces possessed not a foot of ground, except that on which they actually stood.

The range of heights called Condor-kunka (the condor's neck), are very precipitous, and rise abruptly from the little plain which slopes down towards Quinoa. The plain is of small extent, about a mile broad, bounded on the south by the profound and almost perpendicular ravine of Hatun-huayccu, and on the

north, by the smaller and gently sloping valley of Venda-mayu, through which runs a little stream bordered by alder and mollé trees. This streamlet, after a course of about a mile, east and west, makes a sharp turn, and divides Quinoa from the field of battle. In a corner, where the valley of Vendamayu approaches the mountains of Condor-kunka, is the Ayacucho (or corner of dead men), where five hundred years before, the Inca Viracocha had routed the Pocras Indians.

On the 7th of December, the Columbian general, Sucre, commander-in-chief of the patriot army, established his head-quarters at the ruined chapel of San Cristoval, on the plain of Ayacucho; with General Lara, and three Columbian battalions as his centre. The left wing, under General Lamar, was composed of five battalions of Peruvian infantry; the cavalry consisting of two Columbian, two Peruvian, and one Chilian squadron under the English general Miller, and one small piece of artillery.

The right, under the gallant young General Cordova, who only counted twenty-six years, composed of four Columbian battalions of infantry, was posted with its right flank resting on the verge of the ravine of Hatun-huayccu.

Meanwhile, the royalist army had made a long circuit by the villages of Paccay-casa and Guamangilla, and at last, on the 8th of December, had occupied a position on the steep heights of Condor-kunka, in front of the patriot forces. The Spaniards were about 11,000 strong under the Viceroy Laserna, who, with General Villalobos, occupied a position on the left,

opposite Cordova's division, with eleven pieces of artillery that had been dragged over the mountainous road at an immense sacrifice of mules' lives. These guns were planted above the plain, in a place called Chicchi-cancha, on the edge of the ravine of Hatun-huayccu. General Canterac, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, was in the centre with two divisions, and on the right wing, at the head of the valley of Vendamayu, was the indefatigable and gallant General Valdez, whose fame was, alas, subsequently tarnished by his cruelties in the Carlist war.

During the night, Sucre held a council of war, in which it was unanimously resolved to fight on the morrow, as their provisions were failing, and their ammunition nearly expended. So hungry, indeed, was the army, that the sign and countersign of the night was, "*Pan y queso*" (bread and cheese).

At about midnight, young Cordova marched silently across the plain, scrambled up the heights with about a hundred men, and poured a volley into the royalist watch-fires, which caused the death of Brigadier Palomares, who was sleeping, and several others. A wooden cross now marks the spot where he died.

Early in the morning, the two armies beat to arms; the Viceroy descended from the heights and took up a position on the plain, while Valdez, with the object of taking the rebels in the rear, while Laserna and Canterac attacked them in front, advanced down the valley of Vendamayu. He had forced his way almost to the rear of the ruined chapel of San Cristoval, with a division of infantry, and the cavalry regiment of

San Carlos, when he was met by the Peruvian division under Lamar, and a desperate struggle ensued; but Lamar was reinforced by one of Lara's regiments, while Miller, with the whole patriot cavalry, charged Valdez in the rear, who was soon overpowered, and surrendered with all his forces.

In the meantime, Cordova had advanced across the plain with his four battalions, reserving their fire to the last moment.

The artillery discharged a few volleys on them, but with too much elevation, and the patriots dashing forward, took the guns, and after a short but deadly struggle, routed the division of Villalobos.

Cordova then attacked the Viceroy, who was making an attempt to reinforce Valdez with his cavalry. Not having room to charge, they were assailed by Cordova's infantry and thrown into confusion. The Viceroy fired at a rebel sergeant, who returned the compliment, wounding Laserna in the nose, and was about to run him through, when he cried out "Hold! I am the Viceroy," and was taken prisoner. He afterwards gave the sergeant a hundred dollars for sparing his life.

During the battle, Canterac, with the royalist centre, had never attempted to descend from the heights, or engage in the action, and when he saw the Viceroy taken prisoner, he hoisted the white flag, and came down to capitulate.

This treachery or want of courage, decided the fate of the battle; for if, at any time, during the day, Canterac had reinforced Laserna, Cordova must have been overpowered; and the united forces of Canterac,

Laserna, and Villalobos would have fallen on the main body of the rebels while yet engaged in a doubtful struggle with Valdez.

Besides the Viceroy, Canterac, and Valdez, the rebels captured eleven Spanish generals with a proportional number of other officers, among whom were Espartero and Narvaez, then serving as subalterns, but who have since become so conspicuous in the modern history of Spain.

A capitulation was signed on the field of battle, by which the Spanish officers, and all the men who desired to do so, were to be embarked and sent to Spain at the expense of the Peruvian government.

During the night after the battle, a fearful storm of rain, with thunder and lightning, ushered in the first dawn of the republic of Peru. By a curious coincidence the Viceroy Laserna was created by Ferdinand VII., Conde de los Andes, on December the 9th, 1824, the very day of the battle of Ayacucho.

Thus terminated the Spanish power in South America, which, however, can hardly be said to have been destroyed, but only concluded at Ayacucho. Columbia, Buenos Ayres, and Chil  were already independent; and in 1820, the treason of the Spanish army, 20,000 strong, when ordered to embark at Cadiz, had almost in itself caused the destruction of the great colonial empire of Spain.

It is worthy of remark, that not only did England send out ample supplies of money and arms to South America, but that also the valour of her sons was mainly instrumental in securing the independence of

the South American republics. It was the steadiness of the British legion that gained the battle of Carabobo,* and decided the independence of Columbia; and the cavalry charge of the Englishman Miller at Ayacucho, procured the great victory which destroyed the remnant of Spanish dominion in Peru.

Returning from the field of battle to the city of Ayacucho, I prepared to continue my journey towards Cuzco: and took leave of the prefect, Don Manuel Tello, and his excellent family, whose warm-hearted hospitality and kindness had far exceeded anything that an unknown stranger could have expected to receive.

From Ayacucho, the road leads to the south-east, down deep *quebradas*, or ravines, full of the most beautiful wild flowers, such as lupins, fuchsias, calceolarias, salvias, and heliotropes, with water-mills for corn, and farms surrounded by patches of wheat and barley in their depths.

The whole extent of this country is capable of cultivation, and might sustain more than ten times the present population. It is now only occupied here and there by small wheat estates and villages, while the two post houses of Pucavilca and Matara afford shelter to travellers on the road from Ayacucho to Cuzco.

Leaving Matara, and passing through a little copse of acacias, we commenced the ascent of the Condorkunka range by a most dangerous path, which, traversing the rocky and snow-covered summit, led down to

* June 1821.

the little village of Ocros, which is shut in by perpendicular mountains.

The following morning we continued the descent into the deep valley of Puma-cancha, through which flows the great river of Pampas, a tributary of the Yucayali. Gradually leaving the temperate regions of the sierra, in two hours we entered a hot and tropical valley covered with close underwood, and tall stately aloes, with huge forest trees rising up here and there. Flocks of green parrots were screaming shrilly over our heads, and brilliant little humming birds were sucking the honey from the scarlet salvia, and other beautiful flowers.

In a narrow place, about twenty yards broad, a bridge of *sogas*, or ropes made of the twisted fibres of the maguey, had been thrown across the river Pampas. Six sogas, each about a foot in diameter, stretched across the river, and were set up on the other side by a windlass: across these were secured other smaller ropes covered with matting, and forming a light bridge, which was considerably lower in its centre than at the extremities; and, as we passed over it, the sogas vibrated to and fro in a particularly disagreeable manner.

This bridge has to be renewed several times a year; and vast numbers of labourers die annually of the fevers that prevail in this moist and tropical vale. In the Spanish times, the Indians of certain villages were excused other service to repair the bridge. It has been a point of considerable strategical importance, in the frequent intestine wars that Peru has lately

suffered from, as commanding the main road to Cuzco.

After riding down the valley of Pama-cancha for three leagues, we began the ascent of the lofty cuesta of Bombon, which is more than two leagues long, and covered with alder, mollé trees, and sweet flowering shrubs, while the rugged peaks of the ridge rose up in rocky pinnacles on either side of the road.

Beyond these mountains is a fertile valley, in which is situated the pretty village of Chincheros: and another range separates this valley from the equally productive one of Uripa. Nature lavishes all her beauties on these delightful valleys of the Andes; lovely flowers clothe the pasture lands, groves of shady trees overshadow the huts of the Indians, clear rippling brooks flow through the verdant fields, and the surrounding mountains are covered with vegetation.

Leaving the lovely and peaceful vale of Uripa on the left, we entered a narrow gorge between steep and grassy heights ending in irregular peaks, through which a noisy torrent was murmuring over the huge masses of rock that formed its bed. The sides of the road were lined with little thickets of mollé trees and ornamental shrubs; tall fuchsia-trees covered with graceful crimson flowers overtopped the surrounding bushes, while the ground was carpeted by heliotropes, blue and scarlet salvias, calceolarias, and other flowers.

After ascending a long cuesta from this gorge, the road enters upon a wide elevated puna covered with *ychu*, or long grass, where flocks of vicuñas were feeding in the distance.

As we came to the end of this vast pampa, which is more than four leagues in breadth, a tremendous thunder-storm burst over the opposite range of mountains, between which and that we were now descending was the narrow and fertile valley of Moyobamba.

The storm, which pealed forth in loud and threatening tones, and sent out brilliant forked lightning from its black recesses, passed rapidly away to the north-west without touching us, and in the evening we reached the little post-house of Moyobamba.

This was a little hut with no furniture, but with a fire burning in the centre ; and a delicious supper of milk, potatoes, eggs, and chocolate, added to the fatigue of a long journey, enabled me to sleep soundly on my mule's clothes amidst a promiscuous pile of men, women, and children.

Next morning, after for three leagues descending a narrow ravine, with a torrent dashing over an uneven bed many feet below us, we turned the point of a steep cliff, and came in sight of the broad and lovely valley of Andahuaylas.

This is one of the most beautiful vales in the sierra. Running nearly due east and west, it contains three small towns about a league distant from each other,—Talavera, Andahuaylas, and San Geronimo.

Through its centre runs a little river lined on each side by lofty poplars and willows, while here and there large fruit gardens slope down to its banks.

Every part of the valley is carefully cultivated, and large fields of wheat cover the lower slopes of the surrounding mountains.

The town of Andahuaylas, which, by the road, is 102 miles from Ayacucho, consists of a plaza with a handsome stone church, and a fountain in the centre; and a few streets leading from it. On the mountains that rise up on the north side, is the house of the hospitable sub-prefect, Don José Maria Hermosa, surrounded by poplar trees.

Soon after my arrival at Andahuaylas, I was joined by Dr. Don Francisco de Paula Taforo, the famous Chilean preacher, who had lately been exercising his function at Ayacucho, and was now on his road to Cuzco. In the evening of March 12th, he preached an eloquent sermon on the seven petitions of the Lord's Prayer. At its conclusion the Indian population of Andahuaylas crowded to kiss his hand; though, knowing only their native Quichua language, they had not understood a word of the discourse, which was delivered in Spanish.

The Indians of Andahuaylas are a tall and generally handsome race, and many of the women are beautiful. The population of the valley is about 6000.

Owing to the presence of the famous preacher, the remainder of the journey to Cuzco was one continued triumphal procession; messengers were sent forward to announce our approach, and the people of the villages came out on the road to meet us.

Leaving San Geronimo, we passed over an elevated plain, and entering the rich vale of Argama, had breakfast at the post-house. The road then lies over a range of mountains carpeted with sweet flowers and shrubs, that separates the vales of Argama and Pincos,

the latter being much deeper, and containing several sugar estates.

The mountain scenery of this road is so grand and magnificent, that it would require a perfect master of the art of description to pourtray its excessive beauty. At the summit of the range, beyond Pincos, there is a small table-land on which is situated the ancient fortress of Curamba. It is a small square fort of solid masonry in three terraces, the outer wall being twelve paces on each side. The upper terrace on one side is approached from the plain by an inclined plane; and a short distance to the south-west are the extensive ruins of a considerable town, the whole overgrown with grass and small shrubs. It was probably erected by an independent tribe of Indians, previous to the conquest of this part of the country by the Incas.

Descending a long *cuesta*, we entered the village of Huancarama,* which is situated in a fertile and populous valley, inclosed on all sides by spurs of the Andes. The church, which is half unroofed, and without pavement, still possesses a high altar covered with plates of silver beautifully worked, though otherwise in a very neglected state.

As we left Huancarama, crowds of pretty young Indian girls lined the road, and covered us with roses and other flowers. Having completed the ascent of a lofty range, we came in sight of the extensive valley of Abancay, covered in its whole length by fields of sugar-cane, and bounded on every side by ranges of

* In the time of the Spaniards there was a mine of saltpetre at Huancarama. (Not. Sec. App. p. 616.)

steep mountains : while far in the distance, deeply imbedded in foliage, was the town of Abancay.

A steep and stony road conducted us from a temperate to a tropical climate ; and stopping at the sugar estate of Carhua-cahua, we were refreshed by some delicious lemonade. The cane here is smaller, and not so good as that on the coast ; and the mill, with very simple machinery, is worked by water.

Such are the riches of the Sierra of Peru, that it is capable of supplying itself with the productions of every kind of climate : thus the valleys yield a sufficient quantity of sugar for the consumption of the inhabitants, and are capable also of producing abundance of grapes, coffee, chocolate, rice ; and cotton is grown in the deeper ravines of the montaña ; and extensive crops of wheat, barley, maize, and potatoes are raised on the sides of the Andes ; while the fleeces of the alpacas and vicuñas would easily clothe the inhabitants with the finest cloth.

Passing down the valley of Abancay, by several rich sugar estates, each containing a large and productive fruit garden, we arrived at the place where the great river of Pachachaca crosses the centre of the valley, and divides the department of Ayacucho from that of Cuzco. In the bottom of a deep ravine it flows rapidly but silently onwards to swell by its waters the mighty Amazon, and is spanned by a handsome stone bridge of great age, at a considerable height above the stream.

Crossing the Pachachaca, we reached the town of Abancay, after dark, and were received into the house

of the hospitable sub-prefect, Don Paulino Mendoza, a nephew of the Bishop of Cuzco.

Abancay is a pretty little town, with an agreeable society of beautiful young ladies, and is studded with large fruit gardens, and many venerable and stately cedars.

To the south-west, and close to the town, there is a deep ravine, with its sides covered with beautiful flowers, through the bottom of which runs the river Abancay, a tributary of the Pachachaca. On the opposite side, a range of mountains rise almost immediately from the river, to such a height, that their rocky summits are covered with eternal snow; while here the varied productions of a country doubly blessed by nature may be seen at one casual glance.

Near the summits were large flocks of alpacas grazing on the long *ychu*, and directly beneath them were herds of cattle, and flocks of sheep. Lower down were extensive patches of wheat, barley, and potatoes; then followed broad fields of maize, apple and peach-trees, and prickly pears; and at the foot of the mountain were fields of sugar-cane, oranges, citrons, pine-apples, and all the rich fruits of the tropics; and the whole prospect was enlivened by the picturesque and comfortable huts of the Indians, scattered in every direction.

On a hill to the north of Abancay is an ancient fort, now almost concealed by the numerous creepers and small shrubs that cover its mouldering walls. It is called Huaccac-pata, or the "hill of lamentation," the scene of some desperate strife in former ages, possibly the spot where Alvarado, the general of Pizarro's troops,

was defeated by the followers of Almagro, on the 12th of July, 1537.

In the morning of the 17th of March we left Abancay, accompanied for more than a league by the sub-prefect, and about thirty other mounted cavalleros of the place, dressed in holiday attire, who bade us a warm farewell.

Having crossed a range of mountains, on the summit of which there is a *puna* table-land more than two leagues in breadth, we passed down into the rich valley of Curahuasi, where there is a small Indian village surrounded by large sugar estates. In one of these we were hospitably received, and entertained at a dinner where the board groaned under the weight of successive *pucheros*,* and other dishes, followed by a profusion of exquisite fruits, and a liqueur flavoured with citron.

After dinner we went forth to hear Dr. Taforo preach a sermon in the little village church. It was, though formerly possessed of some architectural pretensions, in a deplorable state of dilapidation, and entirely without a roof, except a sort of shed over the high altar.

It was the feast of "Nuestra Señora de los Dolores," and the altar was lighted up with more than a hundred tapers, while an ugly doll, with six tin swords stuck into a crimson heart outside her gown, represented the Virgin.

* The *puchero* is one of the standard dishes of Peru, consisting of a giant round of meat filled with every description of vegetables and stuffing.

The *chupe*, a still more agreeable dish, is like an Irish stew, with eggs, and sometimes cheese.

Though the night was pitch dark, and a shower of rain was falling, the church was crowded with Indians of both sexes, and of every age, and presented a strange and interesting scene. The bright light, with clusters of attentive and admiring faces grouped round the altar, contrasted forcibly with the profound darkness of the body of the church : whilst, over head, the black clouds drifted heavily across a pale powerless moon, and the roofless gable of the western end stood out boldly against the threatening sky.

By the altar stood the tall figure of the Chilian preacher, in a satin cassock, fitting close to the body ; exciting his audience by the earnest expression of his pale and handsome face, and his graceful theatrical declamation, rather than by his words ; for few of the Indians understood any language but their native Quichua.

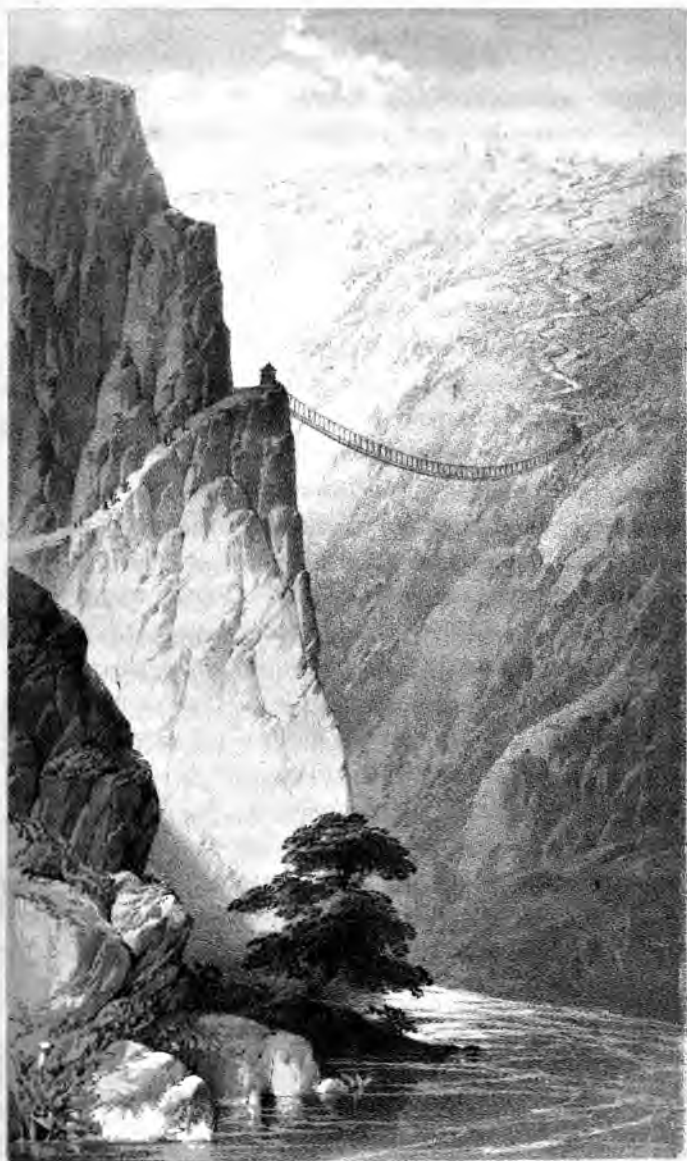
He descanted with great eloquence and command of language on the sublime perfections of our Lady of Grief, and pointed to her as the star of hope to which the storm-tossed mariner must look for protection and guidance, amidst the furious waves and lowering clouds of this nether world.

When he concluded, the Indians rushed forward to kiss his hand, and it was a disputed point among the higher dignitaries of the village, whether they were visited by an *avatar* of St. Paul, or of St. Luis Gonzaga. They are a simple and kind-hearted people, as indeed are all the Indians I have met with since leaving Yca ; and whether under the roof of the prefect, or educated landowner, or in the hut of the poorest

Indian in the wild ravines of the Andes, I invariably encountered, as a solitary and unknown traveller, the same cordial reception and profuse hospitality.

Taking our departure from Curahuasi, we approached the banks of the great river Apurimac, and prepared to enter that charming land in the centre of whose mountain-girt plains is Cuzco, the city of the Incas.





CHAPTER IV.

CUZCO THE CITY OF THE INCAS.

ON the morning of March the 18th, 1853, I crossed the river Apurimac, and entered the territory which once composed the empire of Manco Ccapac, the first Inca of Peru.

In the end of the eleventh century, the great law-giver, with his august spouse, appeared on the banks of the lake Titicaca, and startled the untutored Indians of the Andes from their long sleep of barbarism and ignorance.

Advancing with numerous followers to the northward, along the course of the Vilcamayu, he eventually established the centre of his dominion in the plain where now stands the city of Cuzco, forming a compact little kingdom around it, which was extended by his successors over a vast territory, six hundred miles in breadth, and two thousand five hundred in length.

The empire, as it existed in the reign of Manco Ccapac, only extended from the Apurimac on the west to the Paucar-tambo on the east, a distance of about ninety miles, and measured eighty miles from north to

south. This tract of country, situated nearly three hundred miles from the sea, and intersected by lofty chains of mountains, enjoys every advantage that the prodigal hand of Nature can supply. Through its centre the river Vilcamayu winds amongst fertile vales, enjoying an Italian climate, and rich with the produce of the regions of the sun. Its northern and eastern frontiers border on vast tropical forests, abounding in all the productions of the torrid zone; whilst on the slopes of the Andes and its offshoots are vast plains covered with pasture, or waving with crops of cereals and potatoes; and still higher up, on the chilling peaks and grassy table-lands, large flocks of vicuñas and alpacas yield a wool which is woven into fabrics finer and softer than silk.

In the centre of this favoured region Manco Ccapac founded the city of Cuzco, while on each frontier he erected a fortress and a palace: Ollantay-tambo on the north, Paccari-tambo on the south, Paucar-tambo on the east, and Lima-tambo on the west, near the river Apurimac; and it was through this latter place that I approached the city of the Incas.

On a beautiful morning we reached the verge of the precipice which forms the western bank of the Apurimac, and descends perpendicularly down for several hundred feet, to where the mighty stream rolls onward to the Amazon.

The descent down a narrow and dangerous path to the rope bridge that spans the river, was a work of time and caution. Slippery, uneven, and so narrow, that in many places while one leg pressed against

the rock, the other dangled over nothing; one false step would have hurled the mule and rider down the yawning abyss. At last the precipice became so perfectly perpendicular, that a sort of tunnel had been excavated in the solid rock about forty feet long, the end of which was the entrance to the bridge.

In a place about thirty yards broad, the bridge of sogas, constructed in the same way, as that over the river *Pampas*, was thrown across the Apurimac. It spanned the chasm in a graceful curve, at a height of full three hundred feet above the river, which, though very deep, dashed and foamed noisily along between the mighty barriers that confined it on either side. Hence the name Apurimac, "the great speaker;" for the Indians thought that in the roaring of the waters some oracle of deep and wondrous import was sent forth.

The passage being accomplished, I descended to the banks of the river, at a point where a ravine conveyed a little brook to swell its waves, and here I gazed upon this mighty stream, one of the chief feeders of the Amazon. On either side of the river the mountains rise up quite perpendicularly, to a height of three thousand feet, with the eddying waves laving their bases, and their sides so smooth that a blade of grass could not find root on any part of them.

Across the terrific abyss, three hundred feet above the stream, was thrown the frail bridge of sogas, which at this distance looked like a single thread, whose weakness formed a striking contrast to the mighty powers of Nature that surrounded it.

The ascent of several leagues of a steep and winding road brought us to the village of Mollepata, and the following day we entered the town of Lima-tambo.

The station which in former times guarded the western frontier of the dominions of the first Inca, is now a little town situated in a long and narrow valley, bounded on either side by lofty mountains. Fields of maize and fruit-gardens cover the plain, and *andeneria*, or terraces of the time of the Incas, faced with stone, and arranged one above the other, well stocked with potatoes and yucas, skirt the sides of the hills.

The delightful town of Lima-tambo consists of a square with a large plane-tree in the centre, and a row of tall willows fronting the church, which forms its south side. A few streets leading from it terminate in gardens of well-laden fruit-trees. The houses are tenanted almost entirely by an Indian population, and look neat and comfortable.

The excellent and kind-hearted old parish priest of Lima-tambo, a Franciscan friar named Esquibias, received us with the warmest hospitality; and a dinner was spread for us in the stone corridor of his house, which looked out upon a garden stocked with fine flowers and luscious fruit.

It was refreshing to hear of the good deeds of old Friar Esquibias, from his parishioners; of his having expended the whole of his little patrimony in restoring the church, and performing deeds of charity to the poor; of his kindness to the sick and needy, and of his devotion to his duties.

About two miles from Lima-tambo are the ruins of the ancient palace of the Incas. It was situated in a delightful spot commanding a fine view of the valley; but only two walls, and the face of the stone terrace on which the palace was built, are now remaining. The walls are respectively twenty and forty paces long, forming an angle, and fourteen feet high. They are built of limestone, with the stones, though of various shapes and sizes, beautifully fitted into each other, without cement of any kind, and looking to this day angular and fresh. At intervals there are recesses in the walls about a foot deep and eight feet high; and the interior of the palace is now an extensive fruit-garden.

Leaving the valley of Lima-tambo, we commenced the ascent of a range of mountains covered with beautiful flowers, which brought us to a broad and elevated, but fertile plain, with large farms scattered over its surface. After riding two leagues over this well-cultivated tract of country, we turned round the end of a range of rocky hills, and came upon the vast plain of Surite, the scene of two memorable battles—one in the time of the Incas, and the other fought by the Spanish conquerors, each of which, for the time, decided the fate of Peru.

The plain of Surite* is bounded by mountains, at whose feet are numerous towns and villages, as well as tiers of *andeneria*. The plain itself is a broad swampy

* Called also the plain of Yahuar-pampa, of Xaquixaguana, and of Anta. The latter is a small town, capital of the province of the same name, situated near it.

pasture, traversed by a stone causeway, raised about five feet above the level, perfectly straight, and two leagues in length.

We had hardly reached half-way across it, when a dark mass of clouds, heavily charged with rain, came rolling over the hills from the south-east. The graceful white egrets, which abounded in the swamp, left off their search for worms, and screaming shrilly, whirled in wayward circles over the plain; the great flocks of sheep, scattered in different directions in search of the richest pasture, ran for protection to a common centre, and collected in masses with their heads huddled together; and the cattle left off grazing and lowered their heavy heads to receive the coming storm. At last the clouds burst forth in loud peals of thunder, the lightning flashed, and the rain fell in large heavy drops, while all the time the sun was shining brightly in the west. The lights and shades in the villages, and down the sides of the mountains, were very striking. In half an hour the storm passed away, leaving behind it a serene and lovely sky.

Passing on across three fertile plains, separated from each other by low ranges of hills, and producing wheat and every kind of vegetable, I reached the foot of a range of rocky heights as the sun set. The sky was deeply blue, without a single cloud, with a bright and silvery moon; and as I arrived at the summit of the pass, it threw its pale mournful rays over the city of Cuzco, spread out in the plain below.

Cuzco! city of the Incas! city, where, in by-gone

times, a patriarchal form of government was combined with a high state of civilisation; where works were conceived and executed, which, to this day, are the wonder and admiration of the wanderer; where a virtuous race of monarchs ruled an empire, equal in size to that of Adrian, exceeding that of Charlemagne.

Cuzco! the hallowed spot where Manco's golden wand sank to its head into the ground; the favoured city, whose beautiful temple surpassed in splendour the fabled palaces of the Arabian Nights; where the trophies of victories, won on battle-fields from the equator to the temperate plains of Chil , were collected; where songs of triumph resounded in praise of Ynti, the sacred deity of Peru,—of Quilla, his silvery spouse,—of the beneficent deeds of the Incas.

Cuzco! once the scene of so much glory and magnificence, how art thou fallen! What suffering, misery, and degradation have thy unhappy children passed through since those days of prosperity! Where now is all thy power, thy glory, and thy riches? The barbarous conqueror proved too strong. Thy vast and untold treasures are once more buried in the earth, hidden from the avaricious search of thy destroyers: but thy sons, once the happy subjects of the Incas, are sunk into slavery. Mournfully do they tread, with bowed necks and downcast looks, those streets which once resounded with the proud steps of their unconquered, generous ancestors.

The city of the Incas, whose history is rendered classic in the simple narrative of Garcilasso de la Vega,

the historian of his fallen family ; in the elegant pages of Robertson ; and the heart-stirring epic of Prescott ; deserves a large share of interest from the student of history, as one of the only places in the world, where the patriarchal form of government, combined with civilisation, was brought to a high state of perfection.

Manco Ccapac, who founded Cuzco, about the year A.D. 1050, was the progenitor of an illustrious line of potentates, unconquered warriors, the patrons of architecture and of poetry. Among them, we have Inca Rocca, the founder of schools, whose Cyclopean palace still remains, a monument of by-gone greatness ; Viracocha, the Inca with florid complexion and flaxen locks, whose massive citadel still frowns from the Sacsahuaman hill ; Pachacutec, the Solomon of the New World, whose sayings are recorded by the pious care of Garcilasso ; Yupanqui, who performed a march across the Chilian Andes, which throws the achievements of Hannibal, Napoleon, and Macdonald into the shade ; Huayna Ccapac, the most chivalrous and powerful of the Incas, whose dominion extended from the equator to the southern confines of Chil , from the Pacific to the banks of the Paraguay ; and lastly the brave young Manco, worthy namesake of his great ancestor, who held out in a long and unequal struggle against the Spanish invaders, and whose talent and valour astonished even the soldiers of Gonsalvo de Cordova. But he was defeated ; the sun of Peruvian fortune, which for a few years had lingered on the horizon, sank in a sea of blood, and the

ill-fated Indians fell under the grinding yoke of the pitiless Goths.

Situated in $13^{\circ} 31'$ south latitude, and $73^{\circ} 3'$ west longitude, Cuzco is at an elevation of 11,380 feet above the level of the sea, 2000 feet above the great St. Bernard; and thus, though only 800 miles from the equator, it experiences a temperate climate, and in the depth of winter, snow often falls over the city, and covers its *plazas* with a white mantle.

Cuzco stands at the head of a valley, nine miles in length, and varying from two miles to a league in breadth, running N.W. and S.E., and bounded on either side by ranges of mountains at a considerable elevation above the plain.

The valley is covered with fields of barley and lucerne; and, besides many very picturesque farms and country-houses, contains the two small towns of San Sebastian and San Geronimo.

The city is at the N.W. end of the valley, a little more than a mile and a half in length, from the foot of the mountain-range on the east to that on the west, and about a mile in breadth. On the north side the famous hill of Sacsahuaman rises abruptly over the city, divided from the hills on either side by two deep ravines, through which flow the little rivers of Huatanay and Rodadero. The former stream flows noisily past the moss-grown walls of the old convent of Santa Teresa, under the houses forming the west side of the great square of Cuzco, down the centre of a broad street where it is crossed by numerous stone bridges, and eventually unites with the Rodadero,

which separates the city from the little eastern suburb of San Blas to the south of the Gardens of the Sun.*

The principal part of the ancient city was built between the two rivers, with the great square in the centre, and to the westward of the Huatanay are two more fine squares, of the Cabildo, and of San Francisco, east and west of each other.

The houses of Cuzco are built of stone, the lower story being usually constructed of the massive and imposing masonry of the time of the Incas, while the upper, roofed with red tiles, is a modern superstructure.

The streets run at right angles, and present long vistas of massive buildings, rendered interesting from their air of antiquity, with handsome church-towers rising here and there, and the view down those running north and south terminating in the steep streets rising up to the lower part of the hill of the Sacsahuaman, with the hoary old fortress of the Incas crowning its summit.

Having thus brought the reader to the ancient city of Cuzco, the most interesting spot in the New World, I propose to introduce him to those ruins which tradition points out as the most ancient, and to continue the study of each Incarial edifice of note, with the history attached to it, and the deeds recorded of its founder,

* The Huatanay is now but a noisy little mountain-torrent confined between banks faced with masonry; but in former times it must have been in the habit of frequently breaking its bounds, as its name implies, which is composed of two words, *Hatun*, a year, and *Ananay*, an ejaculation of weariness, indicating the fatigue expressed at the yearly necessity of renewing its banks.

until the time when the city was occupied and metamorphosed by the conquering Spaniards.

The state of Cuzco under Spanish rule, and the structures erected by the Spaniards, will then attract our attention; and, finally, its present state, and the condition of its inhabitants, will complete the story of the old Incarial city.

On the 22nd of March, 1853, I ascended the steep street up the Sacsahuaman hill, so perpendicular in its ascent as to be built in the form of a staircase, and reached a small level space, overlooking the town, and immediately under the precipitous cliff on which the citadel is built, where the extensive ruins of the Colcampata, said to be those of Manco Ccapac, the first Inca, are still to be seen.

The view from this point is extensive and beautiful. The city was spread out beneath like a map, with its numerous handsome churches rising above the other buildings; and its great square, with the market crowded with Indian girls sitting under their shades, before little piles of merchandise, or passing to and fro, like a busy hive of bees. Beyond is the long fertile plain, with the little towns of San Sebastian and San Geronimo; and, far in the distance, rising above the ranges of mountains that bound the valley, is the snowy peak of Asungato, standing out in bright relief against the blue sky.

On the eminence where I stood rose the ruins of the palace of the first Inca.

On a terrace built of stones of every conceivable size and shape, fitting exactly one into the other, eighty-

four paces long, and eight feet high, is a wall with eight recesses, resembling those in the Inca palace of Lima-tambo; and, in the centre of the lower wall, a mermaid or syren, now much defaced by time, is carved in relief on a square slab. In one of the recesses a steep stone staircase leads up to a field of lucerne, on a level with the upper part of the wall, which is twelve feet high, and thus forms a second terrace. On the other side of the field are ruins of the same character, parts of a very extensive building, or range of buildings. They consist of a thick stone wall, sixteen paces long and ten feet six inches in height, containing a door and window. The masonry is most perfect; the stones are cut in parallelograms, all of equal heights, but varying in length, with the corners so sharp and fine that they appeared as if they had just been cut, and, without any kind of cement, fitting so exactly that the finest needle could not be introduced between them. The doorposts, of ample height, support a stone lintel seven feet ten inches in length, while another stone six feet long forms the foot.

The foundations of the building are to be traced to the S.E. for twenty-six paces, but are almost entirely demolished. Behind these remains are three terraces, built in the rougher style of masonry used in the first walls, and planted with alders and fruit-trees.

Such are the ruins which tradition, since the time of the conquest, has pointed out as the remains of the palace of the first Inca of Peru.*

* One tradition, however, assigns them to a later period, and to the Inca Pachacutec.

It is related that there was a great earthquake at the commencement of



Here he is said to have chosen the site of his residence, the more readily to overlook the building of his city, and the labours of his disciples; and from this point he contemplated the gradual rise of those noble buildings which still adorn the now fallen city of Cuzco.

The story of his strange and sudden appearance, of his introducing a new and foreign civilisation, and establishing a complicated system of religious worship, and a well-organised government, is told in nearly the same words by most of the chroniclers of the time of the Spanish conquest. The truth of this tradition has been doubted by many, but all writers agree that, a few centuries before the arrival of the Spaniards, some superior being, or race of beings, far advanced in the civilisation of some distant land, made their appearance on the table-land of the Andes, assuming the government of the people of the soil, and declaring themselves to be Children of the Sun, and entitled to the adoration and obedience of the former inhabitants.

Some circumstances, indeed, would warrant the conclusion that the civilisation of the Incas was indigenous, and of spontaneous development; but the mass of evidence is in favour of its foreign origin.

his reign, which destroyed Cuzco; and that he erected his palace on the *Colcampata*, to overlook the work of rebuilding. The word *Pacha-cutec* may be translated "the earth overturned;" but it may also be rendered "time changed," or reformed; and Garcilasso de la Vega assigns it this higher meaning, declaring that this Inca took it, on account of the great reforms, in the computation of time, effected in his reign.

Whence then came the mysterious lawgiver of Peru, and his sister spouse? Many are the theories and conjectures that have been hazarded on this interesting subject. Mr. Ranking, in an erudite work published in 1827, has no doubt whatever that Manco Ceapac was a son of Kublai-Khan, the first Chinese emperor of the Yuen dynasty, and that he conquered Peru with a brigade of elephants. Montesinos, an old Spanish chronicler, declares that he came from Armenia, about 500 years after the deluge; and still wilder theorists have given him an Egyptian, a Mexican, and even an English origin.*

There can be but little doubt, however, that from some unknown cause, probably from the influence exercised by civilised strangers, three South American nations, about the same time, and without communication with each other, assumed a degree of civilisation far above that of all other American tribes, and the traditions concerning its origin bear strong points of resemblance.

On the table-land of Anahuac, Quetzalcoatl appeared to teach arts and sciences to the nation of Toltecs, whose remains are probably identical with the late discoveries of Mr. Stephens at Axmul and Palenque; and Quetzalcoatl was afterwards worshipped by the Mexicans as a god.

* Berreo, Governor of Trinidad, who was taken prisoner by Sir Walter Raleigh, asserted that there was a tradition stating that the Incas would be restored by an Englishman. It was said, also, that *Inca Manco Capac* was a corruption of *Ingasman Cocapac*, or the blooming Englishman.— See Raleigh's *Conquests of Guiana*, iv. ; also Miller's *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 217.

In the mountainous regions around Bogota, Bochica, a child of the Sun, came mysteriously among the Muysca nation, teaching men to build and sow. He introduced a complicated system of computing time, correcting the lunar year, by inserting an intercalary month at the end of every three years, and also calculating time by means of cycles. As was the case in Japan, he appointed two princes, the one over ecclesiastical, and the other over civil affairs, and eventually withdrew from public life, to a holy valley near Tunja.

Lastly, about the same time, Manco Ccapac, and his spouse, Mama Oello Huaco, also children of the Sun, appeared in Peru, and founded a mighty empire. By some they were said to have appeared first on the banks of the great lake of Titicaca,* by others to have issued from a cave near Paccari-tambo;† but, however that may be, all agree in ascribing to them the introduction of every useful art the Peruvians possessed, of an enlightened government, of improved social intercourse, and of a comparatively pure religion.

Comparing the institutions, customs, ceremonies, and religion of the Incas, with those of various Asiatic nations, there is little room to doubt that the emigrants represented by Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco Ccapac, found their way to the shores of South and Central America, from China, and other parts of Eastern Asia; and this is now the generally received

* Garcilasso de la Vega, *Commentarios reales*, lib. ii. cap. xv. xvi.

† Acosta, lib. vi. cap. xix. Also, see a sermon published in the Quichua language, by Dr. Avendaño, in A.D. 1648.

opinion of those antiquaries who have paid attention to the subject.*

The government established by the Incas, though in form a despotic theocracy, was mild and patriarchal in effect. The Inca was the father of his people; their comfort, their work, their holidays, were all under the rigid supervision of his officers, and one of his proudest titles was Huaccha-cuyac, "the friend of the poor."

The ceremonies of religion were intimately interwoven with the working of government, and the course of every-day life; and the spread of their institutions over the surrounding countries, either by gentle or violent means, was the great duty of the children of the Sun.

The four somewhat mythical successors of Manco Ccapac, namely, Rocca the valorous, Yupanqui the left-handed, Mayta the rich, and Ccapac Yupanqui, rapidly spread the doctrines of the religion of the Sun, and increased the extent of their dominions; until, at the accession of Inca Rocca, the empire of the Incas, called by them Ttahua-ntin Suyu, or the four provinces,

* Schlegel, in his *Miscellaneous Works*, (Bohn, ch. iv. p. 453,) says, "It is clearly proved that the founders of the Peruvian kingdom migrated from the east of China, and the Indian isles."

Dr. Wiseman, in his *Connection between Science and Revealed Religion*, Lecture ii. p. 86, holds the same opinion.

Humboldt, also, in his *Researches*; and, finally,

Don Mariano Rivero, an eminent Peruvian antiquary, in his *Antigüedades Peruanas*, cap. i. p. 17, says: "No admite duda que Bochica y Manco Ccapac eran sacerdotes Budistas que, por su doctrina superior, y civilizacion, consiguieron señorear los animas de los indigenos, y elevarse a la supremacia politica."

reached from Ollantay-tambo to the southern borders of lake Titicaca.

The remains of the palace of this Inca are situated in the present *calle del triunfo*, near the great square of Cuzco. The walls are constructed of huge masses of rock, of various shapes and sizes, one of them actually having twelve sides; but fitting into each other with astonishing exactitude, though their exterior faces are rough. The stone is a dark slate-coloured limestone.

Inca Rocca was the founder of the *Yacha-huasi*, or schools for the instruction of noble youths, near which his palace was built. He was a monarch of some renown, both as a warrior and a legislator, and extended the dominion of the Incas to Huancarama and Andahuaylas. Don Mariano Rivero believes Rocca to have been the first Indian prince of the Inca race, placed on the throne by the foreign reformer, generally known as Manco Ccapac.*

On the walls of what I believe to have been the *Yacha-huasi*, or schools founded by Inca Rocca, now the church of San Lazaro, are many serpents carved in relief on the stones; and the same designs are to be seen on a stone lintel in the walls of the palace of Huayna Ccapac, and on many other Incarial buildings. Some other specimens of sculpture on the buildings of the Incas still remain. Besides the figure, already noticed, in the palace of Manco Ccapac, there are four very curious figures in relief, on large slabs, in a house supposed to have once been occupied by the Inca

* *Antigüedades Peruanas*, cap. iii. p. 63.

historian Garcilasso de la Vega. They have evidently been removed from their ancient positions, and now form the door-posts to an empty room. On the two upper slabs, which are three feet ten inches in diagonal length, are carved the figures of two monsters with the heads of women and bodies of birds, resembling the harpies of Virgil. They stand boldly out from the stone; and the feathers of the body, wings, and tail, as well as the hair which is thrown back behind the ears, are accurately and artistically executed.

On the two lower slabs are figures, designed with equal skill, representing monsters with scales, and long tails curled up behind their backs.

These interesting pieces of sculpture bear the evidence of great age; and many of the same kind, as indeed is hinted by Garcilasso de la Vega and other chroniclers, were probably destroyed through the wanton vandalism of the Spaniards. We have enough left, however, to give an idea of the ornamental part of the masonry of the Incas.

The walls of their palaces were built of huge stones of a dark slate colour, with recesses and doors at certain intervals, the sides of the doors approaching each other and supporting large stone lintels. The side walls were pierced with small square windows, as is seen in the ruins of Manco Ccapac's palace, and the whole was that ched with the *ychu*, or long grass of the Andes.

The interior consisted of several spacious halls with smaller rooms opening into them, and the interior walls were adorned with golden animals and flowers,

executed with much skill and taste.* Mirrors of a hard stone highly polished, with concave and convex surfaces,† hung on stone pegs, while in the numerous recesses were utensils and *cónopas* ‡ of gold and silver, fantastically designed. The couches were of vicuña cloth of the softest and finest texture, and the seats used by the Incas, called *tiana*, were plated with gold.

The dresses worn by the Incas and their courtiers were very splendid, and there still exist at Cuzco pictures painted at the time of the Spanish conquest, representing the Incas in full costume. They are always represented in a fine cotton tunic, secured round the waist by a figured cloth belt. A golden breastplate or sun hangs round the neck, and a long flowing robe descends from the shoulders to the ground.

Some of the nobles wore head-dresses of egret's feathers, but the reigning Inca is always represented in the crimson *llautu* or fringe, and the two black and white wing-feathers of the majestic falcon *coraquenque*. The *ñustas*, or princesses, wore a long mantle, called *lliclla*, secured across the bosom by a large golden pin.

I have seen a golden breastplate or sun, and one of these *topus* or pins, now in the possession of General Echenique, the late president of the republic. The breastplate is of pure gold, and the figures upon it are

* Garcilasso de la Vega, lib. vi. cap. i.

† Ulloa, vol. i. lib. vi. cap. xi.

‡ *Conopas* were household gods, representing llamas, mazorcas of maize, &c.

stamped, being convex on the outer side. The pin is also of thin gold, and the figures are cut upon its flat surface.

The fabrics woven in the time of the Incas were of cotton, or of the silky wool of the vicuña. The threads were spun on a small hand-spindle, and the art of dyeing in various colours was well understood.

Their vases of gold, silver, earthenware, and stone, were remarkable for their ingenious shapes, and many of them for the graceful elegance of their form. They were frequently moulded or cut into the shape of birds, fishes, quadrupeds, and human beings, some of them being double, and others even quadruple.*

The Inca Rocca is supposed to have given the first great impulsive movement to these various arts, which were brought to some degree of proficiency by his descendants.

When that great monarch was gathered to his fathers, his son, the melancholy Yahuar-huaccac, who shed tears of blood at his birth, ascended the throne.

This period seems to have been the turning-point in the rise of the Incarial Empire. A spirit of aggression and conquest seems already to have made itself manifest in every direction, but as yet the government was far from strong, though its forces were compact and concentrated; and a vast league of the neighbouring tribes to the westward, even up to the mari-

* Immense numbers have been dug up in the various *huacas*, or burial-places, throughout Peru. There are fine collections of them in the museums of Cuzco and Lima, and also in private houses. There is also a tolerably good collection of Peruvian pottery in the British Museum.

time cordillera, appears to have been made for its overthrow.

The time was well chosen. A weak and imbecile prince had just assumed the reins of government, and his son had, for some misconduct, been banished from the court, and from all share in affairs of state.

But the young prince was evidently a man of no common stamp. Sent to attend the llamas destined as sacrifices to the Sun, on the elevated plains of Chita, he passed his time in meditation. The table-land of Chita, near Cuzco, consists of long grassy slopes interspersed with small lakes, whose tranquil surfaces are skimmed by numerous water-fowl. The sky is generally cloudless, and of a deep blue; and under its lovely vault, at the foot of one of those giant boulders of granite which strew the plain, the young prince was wont to lie down and meditate for hours.

One day, at high noon, when all nature was lulled into silence, an august spirit, with flowing golden hair, appeared before him. The spirit revealed to him the mighty league that threatened the empire, and bade him arise and head the armies of the Incas. The prince was roused to energy, he assumed the name of the spirit *Viracocha* (the foam of the sea), and descended to Cuzco with news of the revolt.

Meanwhile, the vast armies of the rebels, headed by the valiant Anco-hualluc, chief of the Pocras, and swelled by the followers of the chiefs of Andahuaylas and Huancarama, and the tribes of Huancas and Chancas, advanced rapidly towards the city of the Incas, whose dominion was threatened with destruction.

The faint-hearted Yahuar-huaccac went moaning away towards Muynas, followed by a few old councillors, while his son Viracocha collected the chivalry of the Incas, unfurled the rainbow banner, and went forth to meet the enemies of his house.

The army of the Incas was divided into companies of tens, hundreds, five hundreds, and thousands, each under a particular officer; and five thousand were commanded by an *Hatun-apu*, or general.

The different tribes of which the army was composed, were distinguished by turbans of various colours, and the government supplied the men with coarse cotton tunics called *auasca*, and *usutas*, or sandals.

They were armed with clubs, a weapon like a morning star, bows and arrows, slings, and axes of copper hardened with tin or silica.*

The insurgent forces were drawn up on the great plain near Lima-tambo, where a fierce contest took place; and the Pocras and Chancas fought with such desperate valour, that the battle long remained doubtful.

But the loyal men of Chumbivilcas were marching rapidly to the assistance of the Incas; descending from the southern hills, they dashed impetuously on the right flank of the enemy, who, believing that the very stones had risen up against them, fled in confusion towards the Apurimac. Thousands were left dead on the plain, which, since that eventful day, has been

* Humboldt says that an ancient Peruvian instrument found near Vilcambamba contained the following proportions of copper and tin :—

Copper	.	.	.	0·94
Tin	.	.	.	0·06

called Yahuar-pampa, or "the field of blood." The victorious Viracocha, having thus dispersed the foes that threatened the extinction of his race, bore himself nobly towards the vanquished, and even restored their leader Anco-haulluc, to his command over the Pocras, who dwelt in the country where now stands the city of Ayacucho.

The Incarial army then marched to the westward, bringing all the scattered tribes under subjection, up to the feet of the maritime Cordillera, and restoring order and tranquility.

The remnant of the warlike Pocras were, shortly afterwards, utterly routed near the frowning heights of Condor-kunka, at a place which from that time has been called Ayacucho, or "the heap of dead men:" and here, in after years, a crowning victory over the Spaniards, in 1824, ensured the independence of Peru.

Such unexpected and vast successes raised the youthful Viracocha to the very summit of popularity. His aged father, Yahuar-huaccac, abdicated the throne in his favour, and retired to a palace, about ten miles south of Cuzco, called the *rumicolca*, whose massive ruins are still to be seen on either side of the road to Puno.

Firmly seated on the throne, and married to a princess, who was called from her white complexion Runtu, or the egg; the fair-haired Viracocha ordered a temple to be erected in honour of the Spirit, whose revelations had caused the successful issue of the great battle of Yahuar-pampa.

The ruins of this edifice may be seen, at the present

day, at a place called Cacha, near the banks of the Vilcamayu, and about a hundred miles from Cuzco. According to Garcilasso de la Vega, the temple was of quadrangular form, built of solid masonry, with a door on each of the sides ; and in the centre, there was a statue of the Spirit, in long flowing robes, and leading some strange animal by a chain.

From that time, the name of Viracocha was deified, and became to the Inca Indians an expression of all that was most powerful and heroic in nature. To this day it is the word, in the Quichua language, equivalent to "a gentleman" in English.

The Inca now felt the paramount necessity of erecting some strong defensive barrier against any future attack ; and accordingly the great fortress on the hill of Sacsahuaman, whose colossal ruins, still visible above the the city of Cuzco, are an eternal monument of its fallen greatness, and a silent testimony of the boldness of conception with which the children of the Sun were gifted, was commenced by order of the great Inca Viracocha.

On the eastern end of the Sacsahuaman, crowning a steep cliff, immediately above the palace of Manco Ccapac, there are three terraces, one above the other, built of a light-coloured stone, in the same style of masonry as the terraces on the Colcampata.

The first wall, fourteen feet high, extends in a semi-circular form round the hill for 180 paces, and between the first and second terraces there is a space eight feet wide. The second wall is twelve feet high, and the third is ninety paces round its whole extent. Above

it, are many carefully hewn stones lying about, some of them supporting three lofty wooden crosses.

This was the citadel of the fortress, and in its palmy days it was crowned by three towers connected by subterraneous passages, now entirely demolished. The outlines of the tower called *paucar-marca* were traceable near the north end of the third terrace; the round tower, or *moyoc-marca*, was in the centre; and the third, or *sacclacc-marca*, at the south end.

From the citadel to its western extremity, the length of the table-land of the Sacsahuaman is 535 paces, and its breadth in the broadest part 130 paces.

On the south side, the position is so strong and impregnable, that it required no artificial defence, bounded as it is by a perpendicular ravine, descending from the table-land to the little river Huatanay, which flows down towards the city.

The position is defended, on part of its north side, by a steep ravine, through which flows the river Rodadero, and which extends for 174 paces from the citadel in a westerly direction. Here, therefore, the position only required a single stone breastwork, which is still in a good state of preservation; but from this point to the western extremity of the table-land, a distance of 400 paces, nature has left it entirely undefended, a smooth plain extending in front of it to the rocky heights of the Rodadero. From this point, therefore, the Incas constructed a cyclopean line of fortification; a work which fills the mind with astonishment at the grandeur of the conception, and the perfect manner of its execution.

It consists of three walls, the first averaging a height of eighteen feet, the second of sixteen, and the third of fourteen, the first terrace being ten paces broad and the second eight.

The walls are built with salient and retiring angles, twenty-one in number, and corresponding with each other in each wall, so that no one point could be attacked without being commanded by others. The position is entered by three doorways, so narrow that they only admit of one man to pass at a time; one of the doorways at the east, one at the west end, and a third in the centre, called respectively the *ttiu puncu*, or gate of sand, the *Viracocha puncu*, and the *Acahuana puncu*.

But the most marvellous part of this fortification is the huge masses of rock of which it is constructed (one of them being sixteen feet in height, and several more varying from ten to twelve feet), yet made to fit exactly one into the other, and forming a piece of masonry almost unparalleled in solidity, beauty, and the peculiarity of its construction, in any other part of the world.

The immense masses at Stonehenge, the great block in the tomb of Agamemnon at Argos, and those in the cyclopean walls at Volterra and Agrigentum, are wonderful monuments of the perseverance and energy of the people who raised them; but they fall immeasurably short, in beauty of execution, to the fortress of Cuzco, where the huge blocks are fitted into each other, though of unequal sizes, and various shapes, with as minute accuracy as is to be seen in the mosaics of ancient Rome.

Viewed from a little distance, the great fortress of Cuzco has a most striking effect. The walls, formed of a dark slate-coloured limestone, are now overgrown with cacti, a small kind of iris, calceolarias, broom, and other flowers; and flocks of sheep and llamas wander along the deserted terraces.

During the long course of years which this stupendous work took in erecting, it lasted through the lives of four successive architects or engineers, namely, Apu Hualpa Rimachi,* Inca Maricancha, Acahuana Inca, after whom one of the gates was named, and Callacunchay.

The three lines of fortification were successively defended, with intrepid valour, against the ferocious Spanish conquerors under Juan Pizarro; and as the brave patriots retreated behind the second and third walls, they left heaps of their comrades who had fallen gloriously in defence of their country's freedom, to attest the courage and obstinacy with which the positions had been defended.

Finally, the gallant band of heroes retreated to the citadel, where they made their last stand against the Spaniards. The venerable Inca noble, who commanded them, performed prodigies of valour with his huge battle-axe; and when he saw that all was lost, and that Hernando Pizarro had forced the position, scorning to surrender, he wrapped his mantle round his head, and hurled himself down the precipice into the Colcampata.

The little plain in front of the north side of the

* Literally, the "great talking cock."

fortress is bounded by enormous masses of limestone, called the rocks of the Rodadero. The strata have in the course of ages been formed into polished grooves, now rendered perfectly smooth from the many generations of boys and girls who have been in the habit of rolling down them. This is still the favourite amusement of the youth of Cuzco of both sexes. The citizens form parties of pleasure to the Rodadero rocks, and reclining among the beautiful wild flowers, drink chicha out of huge tumblers, sing Quichua songs, and look down upon the mighty fortress of their ancestors.

On the summit of the Rodadero, a succession of steps, with two stone seats, is hewn out of the solid rock, and from these seats the Incas are said to have watched the progress of their gigantic undertaking.

The country to the northward is probably the quarry whence the huge quarters of rock, which form the fortress, were conveyed; for there are still masses of rock cut into steps, seats, and other shapes, as if, after their almost superhuman labour was completed, the giant race which had accomplished it, had amused itself by exercising its ingenuity on the remaining stupendous materials, as if they had been formed of some far more pliable substance.

In one place there was a deep excavation, probably used as a well, faced with masonry in a perfect circle.

It is evident that a people who could not only succeed in moving such ponderous masses from great distances, but also hew them into every variety of shape, and smooth their surfaces with such wonderful accuracy,

that they fit the one into the other like mosaic work, must have been possessed of a degree of skill and mechanical knowledge, which raises them high in the rank of civilisation.

During the reign of the Inca Viracocha, the great fortress was completed. He died about A.D. 1370, and was succeeded by his son the Inca Pachacutec.

CHAPTER V.

CUZCO THE CITY OF THE INCAS.

THE name of Pachacutec signifies the "Reformer," and to this prince is attributed the adoption of an improved system of computing time; a completion of the fabric of religious ceremonial, with which the government and whole social life of the people were so intimately interwoven; and a reorganisation of the *Yachahuasi*, or schools founded by the Inca Rocca.

With consummate policy the feelings of the people were enlisted in favour of the theocratic rule of the Incas, and their most venerated deity was known as the ancestor and benefactor of their rulers. *Ynti*, the Sun, was to them the soul of the universe, the fountain whence flowed all the blessings they enjoyed, the ripener of their harvests, the cheering watcher of their labours; the producer of their beautiful flowers, and the progenitor of their beloved Incas.

How great was their veneration for the adored deity, how gorgeous the *Ccuri-cancha*, or temple raised to his honour, is recorded by all subsequent historians; but now the site of all this splendour is sadly changed. Passing from the great square of Cuzco, down a long narrow street, the traveller emerges on an open space



in which is situated the church of San Domingo, on the site of the ancient Temple of the Sun.

This was once the famous Yntip-pampa, but is now called the Plazuela de Santo Domingo. On the south side, where the Ccuri-cancha formerly stood, is now the modern church ; a plain edifice, built of the same well cut stones which formed the temple, but clumsily put together. Its redeeming point is a very handsome tower, with clusters of elaborately carved stone columns at the corners, and around each window. On the west end, which forms the sacristy, and overlooks the river Huatanay, there still remains a portion of the dark, beautifully formed masonry of the ancient temple, about eighteen feet high, and in a curved form. Behind the church there is a cloister, the refectory, and a smaller cloister beyond, and in the passages and corners are still to be seen a few remains of the ancient masonry. The whole place now swarms with Dominican friars.

On the exterior wall of the cloister, at the east side, in a narrow lane running south from the Yntip-pampa, a whole side of the ancient temple still remains entire. It measures seventy paces in length, and between eighteen and twenty feet in height, over which the upper story of the larger cloister has since been built.

This is by far the most perfect specimen of Inca masonry in Cuzco. The stones, usually about two feet long, but of irregular length, and one foot four inches in height, are most accurately cut and placed in straight and regular lines, with their exterior surfaces projecting slightly, and of a dark slate colour. They join each

other so closely that nothing but the finest, but at the same time distinctly defined line, can be seen to separate them. In contemplating this unequalled piece of masonry, one is lost in admiration at the extreme beauty of its formation, the fine conception of the architect who exhibited so much grandeur and sublimity in the perfectly symmetrical combination of the simplest materials, and, above all, at the untiring perseverance and skill that was required to form each stone with such unerring precision, that not a flaw can be discovered in the whole construction.

On the other three sides of the Yntip-pampa, the old walls of the temples of the inferior deities still resist the efforts of time, but their precincts are now desecrated. Miserable fruit and vegetable shops, stores of food for mules, and blacksmiths' forges, now occupy the spacious halls once dedicated to the hosts of heaven; and the plaza itself, silent and sad, the stillness only broken by blows on the anvil, is shorn of all its pristine glory, while the sides of the walls are blackened with smoke from the smithies.

Standing amidst these saddening relics of former greatness, I could picture to myself the change that had come over the scene since the days of Incarial splendour. Where now stands the church of San Domingo, then rose that glorious fane, the Temple of the Sun, with its grand central door and massive cornice of pure gold. The interior was decorated with a magnificence suited to the holy uses to which it was dedicated. A large golden sun, studded with emeralds and torquises, covered the side facing the door; a

sacred flame constantly burned before the representative of the deity ; and vases of gold, a metal which Incas believed to be "the tears shed by the Sun," stood, filled with sacrificial first-fruits, on the floor of the temple.

The other sides of the Yntip-pampa were occupied by massive stone temples dedicated to *Quilla*, or the moon, in which all the utensils were of silver ; to *Coyllur-cuna*, or the hosts of heaven ; to *Chasca*, the planet Venus, called the "youth with flowing golden locks ;" to *Ccuicha*, or the rainbow ; and to *Yllapa*, or thunder and lightning.

In the centre of the square were the stone pillars erected to ascertain the time of the equinoxes, one of the principal festivals in the Incarial calendar, and by which their time was corrected.

The system of computing time is supposed to have been improved by the Inca Pachacutec, who divided the year into twelve months, and corrected the lunar year by observations of the solstices and equinoxes.

The year commenced in summer solstice, on the 22nd of December, with the month of *Raymi*, whose advent was solemnised by dances, music, and songs. The *Raymi* was the most important festival in the sun-worship of the Incas. Thousands of people of all ranks and ages crowded into the sacred city ; all were busy with preparations for the forthcoming solemnity ; and a severe previous fast of three days, called *sasi-ppunchau*, was observed by the devout adorers of the sun.

At length the joyful day arrived, and the Yntip-

pampa was thronged with happy worshippers in their picturesque dresses. The men in their *uncu*, or tunics without sleeves, of white cotton, looped up at the shoulders, and secured by an ornamental stone ; while their head-dresses corresponded in colour with that chosen by the province to which they belonged ; and troops of light-footed Indian girls in *Uicllas*, or long mantles of gaily-coloured cotton, advanced from the streets which led into the Yntip-pampa, with garlands of flowers in their hands to crown the pillar that had announced the joyful tidings of the return of the deity.

In the centre of this gay and joyous throng the Incarial *cortége* might have been seen advancing towards the temple. Borne on the shoulders of his subjects, and seated in the *tiana*, or golden chair, the Inca himself approached to offer sacrifice to the guardian deity of his race. On his head was the turban of various colours, with the *llautu*, or crimson fringe, denoting his rank, surmounted by the feathers of the *coraquenque*.

Dressed in a tunic of light-blue cotton, interwoven with golden threads, and secured at the shoulders by golden plates ornamented with emeralds, his wrists and ancles adorned with broad bracelets of pure gold, and a belt of the same precious metal round the waist, he wore, in addition, a long mantle of golden beads, which glittered in the rays of the noon-day sun. Surrounded by crowds of magnificently-dressed Inca nobles, and assisted by the Huillac Umu, or high priest, he offered sacrifice to the Sun ; and taking two

golden vases of consecrated chicha, he poured out the one in his right hand as a libation to the god, while the one in his left was drunk with reverence by the monarch and his paladins.

The sacred flame, or *mosoc nina*, was then lighted by a metal mirror which concentrated the rays of the sun on a quantity of dry cotton, and was watched throughout the year by the chosen virgins who performed the duties of the temple.

The convent of the virgins of the sun, called the *accha-huasi*, was situated near the Yntip-pampa, and its remains are still to be seen forming part of the walls of the convent of Santa Catalina.

Strictly confined to the precincts of the temple and the convent, the poor virgins were yet allowed the enjoyment of those delicious groves and gardens which stretched away, at the back of the Ccuri-cancha, along the banks of the river Huatanay. In one part of these gardens there was a space set apart for artificial flowers imitated in gold with the most wonderful skill ; some of which, now in the possession of General Echenique, I have been permitted to examine.

In ancient times the gardens probably sloped down to the river in terraces, or *andeneria*, but they are long since destroyed and laid waste. Long rank grass grows up in the neglected ground, and, on the broken and uneven banks which descend to the river, a few tall melancholy alders raise their heads above the scene of desolation.

The festival of the Raymi concluded with universal feasting on sweet cakes and chicha, chanting songs of

triumph, and dancing in figures very like those of a Scotch reel.

The second month of the Peruvian year was called *Huchuy-poccoy*, or the small ripening, from the maize beginning at that season to shoot out small ears.

The third month was called *Hatun-poccoy*, or the great ripening, from the increased size of the grain.

On the fourth month, called *Paucar-huaray*, took place the second great festival of the year, at the autumnal equinox, called *Situa*. It was celebrated with dancing, weaving of garlands, and driving away of diseases. In this month the flowers appear in all their beauty on the slopes of the Andes, and hence the name of the month, which means "a meadow carpeted with flowers."

Arihuay, or April, was the fifth month, when the maize harvest commenced, accompanied by music and drinking of chicha.

In *Aymuray*, or May, the harvests were stored in granaries, and the labourer began to break up the ground with hoes.

In the month of *Cusquic-Raymi*, the third great festival of the year took place, when the sun was implored to preserve the seeds from the rigour of the frost.

Anta Situa, or July (literally the copper dance), was the period when the Incarial army celebrated their military dances, and paraded the streets with songs of triumph.

In the month of *Ccapac Situa* the same festival continued, and the sowing of potatoes, maize, and quinoa was completed.

In the *Umu-Raymi*, the fourth great festival, called the *Huaracu* was celebrated. On this occasion the noble youths of the empire, after going through a period of probation, during which time they fasted, and performed various feats of arms, were invested with the *huaracu*, or belt, and admitted among the nobles of the land.

The young aspirants were then pierced through the ears with a golden pin, and their heads were adorned with a chaplet of flowers composed of the *cantut*, or sweet-william, the yellow *chihuayha*, and the ever-green *vinay huayna*, emblems of clemency, piety and kindness.

These flowers denoted, as the Inca historian tells us, that as the sun creates the flowers for the joy of nature, so should the young knight cultivate their corresponding virtues for the good of man, that he might be worthy to be called *Huaccha-cuyac*, or benefactor of the poor.

It is remarkable that the same ceremony of placing the girdle round the waists of their young men was in use among the ancient Persians, and is still retained by the modern Ghebers.

In the same month of *Umu-Raymi*, the young maidens were married throughout the empire, which was of course the occasion of a universal jubilee. On the appointed day the people assembled before the *curacas*, or governors of provinces, who joined the hands of the brides and bridegrooms, declaring them to be duly married.

On the birth of their infants, the ancient Peruvians

performed a ceremony on giving them names, which consisted in cutting off locks from their hair, and giving them to the assembled relations, who presented slight offerings in return.

In the month of *Aya Marca*, the solemn commemoration of the obsequies of the departed was observed, and pious children left fresh stores of food and clothing in the tombs of their parents; and in the same month the people were busily employed in brewing chicha for the coming festivities. The tombs were little caves, built of masonry, and partly excavated in the sides of the mountains, in almost inaccessible positions; and they were just large enough to hold the body in a cramped sitting posture.

The face of a cliff in the eastern Andes, near the town of Urabamba, is so covered with these little apertures, that at a distance it resembles the perpendicular face of the rock of Gibraltar, where the numerous port-holes in the galleries are visible. It is called *Ttantana Marca*, or the "crowded heights." There are also immense numbers of ancient tombs in a picturesque ravine near Calca, called *Huaccan-huayccu*, or the valley of lamentations.

The last month in the year was called *Ccapac-Raymi*, and at this season dramas were represented before the Incarial court, in the great square of Cuzco, while feasting and dancing prevailed among the people.

Among the favourite pastimes of the Indians at this period of the year, were games of ball called *huayrachina*,—at dice, *huayra*,—and at riddles, *huatucay*.

The period which intervened between the end of the

lunar and the beginning of the solar year was called *Puchuc-quilla*, and was observed as a holiday.

Such was the complicated system of feasts and fasts attendant on the Incarial worship of the Sun, which was observed most religiously throughout the empire, and gave occasion for many happy gala-days to the Indians.

Though the worship of the Sun was the great national religion of the Peruvians, yet a general idea of one supreme power pervaded the genius of their spiritual belief. Constant evidence of this is perceptible in the sayings and conversations of several Incas.

One of these, the famous Huayna Ccapac, is said, at the great festival of Raymi, to have fixed his eyes with irreverent boldness on the great visible object of adoration, the brilliant Sun.

"O Inca!" remonstrated the Huillac Umu, "what is it you do? you give cause of scandal to your court and people in thus gazing on the sublime Ynti."

Turning upon the high-priest, Huayna Ccapac asked, "Is there any one here who dare command me to go whithersoever he chooses?"

"How could any one be so bold?" replied the Huillac Umu.

"But," said the Inca, "is there any Curaca who will disobey my commands, if I order him to speed into the remotest parts of Chilé?"

"No; they cannot certainly refuse your mandate, even unto death," answered the priest.

"Then," replied this enlightened monarch, "I perceive that there must be some other more powerful

Lord, whom our father, the Sun, esteems as more supreme than himself; by whose command he, every day, measures the compass of the heavens without intermission."*

It was during the reign of Pachacutec that a site was chosen for a temple to the Supreme Being, who was called Pachacamac, the Creator of the World. The ruins of this temple, on the coast of the Pacific, have already been described.

A devil or evil principle was believed in by the Peruvians, and called Supay; but it was never worshipped, and held a place more akin to the despised evil spirit of the Parsees, than the dreaded Ahriman of their ancestors.

Their belief in a place of future reward and punishment led to the burial of vast treasures with the deceased, the preservation intact of the palaces of each successive reigning Inca after the death of its occupant, and the careful drying and embalming of their bodies.

Among the great mass of the people, a number of superstitious and idolatrous usages, derived from their remote ancestors, were almost universal; and the beautiful religion of the Sun, the most perfect ever

* Words to the same effect are related by Garcilasso de la Vega, Herrera, Acosta, and other chroniclers, of many of the Incas, predecessors of Huayna Ccapac:—

Of Huayna Ccapac, in Garcilasso de la Vega,	lib. ix. cap. x.
Manco Ccapac	lib. ii. cap. ii.
„ „ „ Acosta . . .	lib. v. cap. vi.
Viracocha, „ Herrera . . .	dec. iii. lib. x. cap. ii.
Inca Yupanqui,	} Acosta . . . lib. vi. cap. xxi.
Tupac Inca Yupanqui,	

conceived by man without the aid of revelation, was in reality confined in its purity to the royal family, and the nobles and philosophers of the court.

The people, however, preserved a belief in the guiding providence of God, in all the cares and duties of life. To this day great heaps of stones are to be seen by the road-side on some of the loftiest passes of the Andes, piled up by successive generations of wayfarers, who, as they reached the summit of the steep ascent, cast a stone by the way-side, and exclaimed, "Apachicta muchhani,"—"I thank God that I have reached thus far."

The Indians also generally believed that every created thing had its *Mama*, or spiritual essence; a creed which seems to have been universally prevalent with almost every people in the world.

Thus the Romans had their Penates and Lares, the gods of their homes; the Grecians, their deities of the wood, the fountain, and the forest-tree; and even the sober-minded English once acknowledged the existence of those mermaids, witches, and fairies, that were supposed to pervade nature, and envelope it in a sort of spiritual second self.

So also the ancient Peruvians had their Huacas, or miracle-working tombs of heroes, and their Canopas, or household gods.

The latter were innumerable, and the various districts, villages, and Ayllus, or families, had their own peculiar deity.

There was the Sara-canopa, or spirit of the harvest; the Chacra-canopa, or spirit of the farm; the Llama-

canopa, or spirit of the flocks, and many others. Many of these are constantly found at the present day, made of earthenware, stone, silver, and sometimes gold. The spirit of the harvest is represented as a little figure covered with mazorcas of maize.

The belief in household gods remained long after the Spanish conquest, and is not yet uprooted from the imaginative minds of the Indians, who still cherish their Canopas in the more secluded dells of the Andes. There is a curious report extant, written by Don Pedro de Villa Gomez, Archbishop of Lima, in 1649, in a pastoral letter, containing a series of questions to be put by the priests, which denote the various kinds of superstitions prevalent in Peru at that time.

Among them we find the following:—

“What is the name of the principal Huaca you all pray to in this place?”

“What Huaca do you pray to, to protect the crops, the potatoes, and the farm?”

“What springs or lakes do you worship?”

“What Huaca do you address when you go to work in the mines, factories, or farms, that the Spaniards may not ill-treat you?”

“We must also ask what feasts they celebrate, at what seasons, and with what ceremonies?”

“What dead bodies of Chuchus (twins), or Chacpas (children born feet first), have you in your houses, and where are they hid?”

“Who cut the hair of your children? and who keeps it?”

“It must also be asked, with tact and prudence,

how many children have been concealed, that they may not be baptized ? ”

The Incas, however, engrafted their purer religion on the grosser indigenous belief of their people, by means of the constant ceremonies and holidays, in which they joyfully took a share.

The system of religious observances appears to have been brought to its greatest perfection by the Inca Pachacutec, who also added largely to the efficiency of the schools, liberally patronised the learning of the Amautas, or wise men, and the minstrelsy of the Haravecs, or poets, and devoted much attention to the civil government of his people.

He was the first Inca who spread his arms to the shores of the Pacific, conquering the vales of Nasca, Yca, Cañete, Pachacamac, and Rimac, and bringing into subjection the great king Chimu, who ruled over the valley where now stands the city of Truxillo.

Pachacutec was the Peruvian Solomon, and was not less celebrated for the wisdom of his sayings, than for his warlike achievements.

“Envy,” said he, “is a worm that consumes the entrails of the envious; and he that envies the wise and good is like the spider that sucks poison from the sweetest flowers.”

“He who attempts to count the stars, not knowing how to count the *quipus*, is deserving of ridicule.”

“Anger and passion admit of reformation, but folly is incurable.”

“Impatience is a sign of a vile mind.”

This prince is said to have attained the great age of a hundred years, and died probably in about A.D. 1400, leaving his throne to his eldest son, the young Inca Yupanqui, already renowned in war.

Yupanqui brought an immense tract of the tropical forests, to the eastward of the capital, under subjection, and made successful attempts to colonise part of those fertile valleys which border on some of the great tributaries of the Amazon, especially in Paucartambo.

His son, the famous Tupac Inca Yupanqui, in 1453, led an army across the sandy desert of Atacama, drove all before him in his victorious advance through Chilé to the banks of the Maulé, and finally, crossing the Chilean Andes by a pass of unequalled difficulty and danger, he returned in triumph to Cuzco.

Meanwhile, young Huayna Ccapac, the heir to the throne, had spread the fame of the Incarial arms to the banks of the Amazon; and in a succession of triumphant campaigns round the stupendous volcanoes of Chimborazo and Cotopaxi, had conquered the kingdom of Quito.

On the accession of Huayna Ccapac, the empire of the Incas had attained to its greatest extent. From the sultry valleys of the Amazon to the temperate plains of Chilé, from the shores of the Pacific to the swampy sources of the Paraguay, their rule had extended; so that in the space of little more than four centuries their empire had swollen, by successive conquests, from the little compact territory round Cuzco, to these vast dimensions.

Order and civilisation advanced hand in hand with their arms, and good roads soon connected the remotest parts of the empire.

The city of Cuzco, at the time of the accession of

Huayna Ccapac, was at the zenith of its splendour and prosperity.

It was divided, at this period, into Upper or Hanin Cuzco, and Lower or Hurin Cuzco. In the centre was the great square, including the three plazas of the modern city, called the Huacay-pata, or hill of pleasure, through which ran the river Huatanay, crossed by numerous stone foot-bridges. On the east side were the palaces of Viracocha, Pachacutec, and Inca Rocca, and the Yacha-huasi, or schools; and on the south, on the side of the modern church of the Jesuits, was the palace of Huayna Ccapac. The other sides were occupied by the houses of the Inca nobility.

In the Huacay-pata, the dramatic representations took place, and here it was that the people danced in a circle extending round the whole open space, each man holding a link of an immense golden chain, to commemorate the birth of Huayna Ccapac's eldest son, who was afterwards called Huscar, or the chain.

A curious picture of this dance, nearly contemporaneous with the Spanish conquest, is to be seen in the church of Santa Anna at Cuzco.

From the centre of the Huacay-pata, looking towards the north, could be seen the old palace of the first Inca on the Colcampata, with the mighty fortress towering above it; and to the south was the Ccuri-cancha, or Temple of the Sun, the Accla-huasi, or convent of virgins, and the Rimac-pampa, where the royal ordinances were proclaimed.

Round the principal localities were the suburbs of the city, inhabited by various tribes from every part of the

empire, ruled by native caciques, and dressed in their characteristic costumes, which must have given a gay and interesting appearance to the busy thoroughfares of the beautiful city.

On the north side were the suburbs of the Holy Gate, Huaca puncu, of Quilli-pata, and of Pichu. On the west, that of Cayau-cachi, where there were two fountains issuing from the mouths of silver serpents (cullqui machachuay). On the south were those of Pumap-chupa (the lion's tail) and Rimac-pampa : and on the east were those of Munay sencca (loving nose), Tococachi (window of salt), Puma-curcu (lion's beam), where the menagerie of the Incas was kept, Cantut-pata (the flowery hill), and lastly, of the Colcampata.

In these suburbs dwelt Indians from every part of the empire ; natives of Chilé, Pasto, Cañaris, Chachapoyas, Huancas, Collas, and of the forests of the far east ; so that the population of Cuzco became a miniature of that of the whole empire.

From Cuzco, as a great centre, the roads ramified through every part of Ttahu-ntin-suyu. Four highways went forth—east, west, north, and south—to the four great provinces into which the empire was divided, viz. : Anti-suyu, Cunti-suyu, Chinchasuyu, and Collasuyu.

The principal road from Cuzco to Quito, carefully macadamised,—and to form which, suspension bridges were thrown over rivers and chasms, valleys were filled up, and hills cut through,—has been the theme of admiring wonder to the people of Europe, from the days of Zarate to those of Prescott.

Roads of the same construction led to the south, to the east, and to the shores of the Pacific ; with *tambos* or inns at convenient distances, and royal storehouses of clothing and food for the use of the Incarial armies when on the march, and of the *chasquis*, or government-messengers, who performed journeys on foot with incredible rapidity.

It is said that the Inca Huayna Ccapac eat fresh fish at Cuzco, which had been caught the day previously at Lurin, on the coast of the Pacific ; a distance of more than three hundred miles, over the most mountainous country in the world.

The greatest order prevailed throughout the public establishments, and special officers were placed over all the great government-works. The *Nancamayoc* superintended the roads, the *Chaca-camayoc* the bridges, and so on through every department ; all under the supervision of the Inca governors of the provinces.

Huayna Ccapac, the greatest of the Incas, brought the civil government and the numerous subordinate arrangements it involved, to the highest state of perfection. In his reign the country prospered ; the people were contented and happy ; and his own family, which had increased to several thousands, looked up to him with respect and adoration.

The descendants of each successive reigning Inca were looked upon as a distinct branch of the royal family, under the name of *Ayllus*, all claiming Manco Ccapac as their common ancestor.

The sons or royal princes were called *auqui*, and became governors of provinces, led forth *mitimaes*, or

colonists, to distant parts of the empire, encouraged the cultivation of poetry, or became priests in the service of the Sun; while the princesses, called *ñustas* when maidens, and *pallas* when married, adorned with their beauty the imperial court at Cuzco, or became virgins in the temples of the Sun.*

Huayna Ccapac himself was the most chivalrous of princes, and it was his boast that he had never refused anything when asked by a woman. Like the ancient Persians and the noble-hearted Normans, the Incas ever treated the fair sex with courteous respect; and the devotion of Huayna Ccapac to the fair princess of Quito was the main cause of the fall of the empire of the Incas.

His first wife was Rava Oollo, by whom he had his heir Huascar, Prince Manco, and many other sons and daughters. Subsequently, he became enamoured of the beautiful Zulma, daughter of the last *Scyri* or King of Quito; and the latter years of his life were spent in her society, at the palaces of Tumbamba, Cayambe, and Latacunga in that country, which have been minutely described by Ulloa and Humboldt.

In one of these palaces, the great monarch expired in the year 1525; having, by his last act, at the instigation of the lovely Zulma, whose charms proved irresistible, divided the empire between Huascar, his rightful heir, and Atahualpa, the offspring of his beloved mistress.

This ruinous measure led to the dismemberment

* The wife of the reigning Inca was called the *Coya*.

of the empire. Atahualpa, headstrong and audacious, invaded the territory of his half-brother, drove him from the throne, and by a succession of cruel butcheries, vainly attempted to exterminate the royal race.

To this day his name is held in universal abhorrence by the Indians, and is generally known as *Aucca*, or the traitor.

But the horizon was rapidly clouding over. Comets, signs, and wonders had been seen in the heavens, and strange men with unknown power had landed on the coast.

The Spanish conquest had commenced. It has been related with harrowing minuteness by the old chroniclers, and by the modern historians,—Robertson and Prescott.

The brave but savage Pizarro, having advanced into the heart of the country, assassinated the traitor Atahualpa at Caxamarca, and by the superiority of the Spaniards in arms and knowledge, after a few battles, easily overran the country. A thirst for gold was their ruling passion; murder and rapine their daily occupation.

Having subdued the unhappy Indians, the Spaniards turned, like ravening wolves, upon each other. Pizarro, who had risen from the dregs of the people, and certainly displayed some great qualities, defeated and murdered his old companion Almagro; and in his turn Pizarro was assassinated by Almagro's son. A year had not elapsed before the young Almagro was himself beheaded; and another year saw the Spanish viceroy, Nuñez de Vela, murdered by Gonzalo Pizarro, and the

hairs of his beard stuck as trophies in the hats of his conquerors. Gonzalo was himself put to death by Pedro de la Gasca, an ecclesiastic who was sent out by the king of Spain to restore quiet to his newly-acquired colony.

But let us turn from these paltry and barbarous feuds, which have been already so fully detailed by the able pen of Prescott, and contemplate the fate of the proud old city of Cuzco, now alas ! shorn of its imperial power, and fallen into the hands of strangers.

The rapacious invaders soon robbed the temples and palaces of their treasures, polluted the altars of the Sun, and demolished the pillars for denoting the time of the solstices, believing them, in their stupid ignorance, to be the idols of the Indians.

Then followed the great insurrection of Inca Manco, who had succeeded to the empty honours of the throne, on the death, at Xauxca, of his unfortunate brother Huascar.

He had at first allowed himself to be used as a tool by the Spaniards, and was crowned by Pizarro at Cuzco, as a vassal of Charles V. ; but the insults he was exposed to, and the cruel outrages* of the conquerors, at length aroused his indignation, and he raised the standard of revolt. Worthy of his great namesake and ancestor, the founder of the empire, he defended the fortress of Cuzco with heroic constancy

* The brutal savage Gonzalo Pizarro ordered Inca Manco's wife, a beautiful young girl, to be stripped and cruelly whipped by the soldiery, and then to be shot to death with arrows. The inhuman order was carried into execution.

against the Spaniards, besieged them in the city itself, and fought three glorious battles in the vale of Vilcamayu. But at length he was constrained to give up the unequal contest, and retreating into the tropical forests of Vilca-pampa, retained his independence with a few faithful followers.

This brave young prince fell by the dastard hand of a Spanish deserter, who had fled to him for protection, and partaken of his hospitality, in 1553.

Meanwhile the Spanish conquerors had become complete masters of the whole of Peru. During the civil wars of the invaders, the great square of Cuzco became the scene of many a bloody execution. Here old Almagro, after sustaining a doubtful contest with his former friend, sealed his life of crime and wickedness with his blood : and on the same spot his young hot-headed son, the assassin of his father's murderer, also fell a victim to his ambition. Their remains now rest side by side in the church of Santa Merced. Here, too, Gonzalo Pizarro and the brave old Carbajal were beheaded by the cold and calculating La Gasca.

When the news of the conquest of Peru and of the unbounded riches of its favoured soil reached the court of Spain, thousands of adventurers flocked to that distant land, among whom were many cadets of some of the noblest families of the kingdom,—the Mendozas, Toledos, Zuñigas, Sandovals, and Girons.

The haughty cavaliers soon established themselves in the Incarial palaces, built second stories with broad trellised balconies, and carved their armorial bearings over the lintels of the gateways.

Swarms of clergy, both secular and regulars, flocked to Peru, thirsting for plunder, and for the blood of the poor Indians. First came the Dominicans, who spread the religion of Christ with fire and sword ; and one of their order, the cruel Valverde, an accomplice in the atrocities of the Pizarros, became the first bishop of Cuzco.

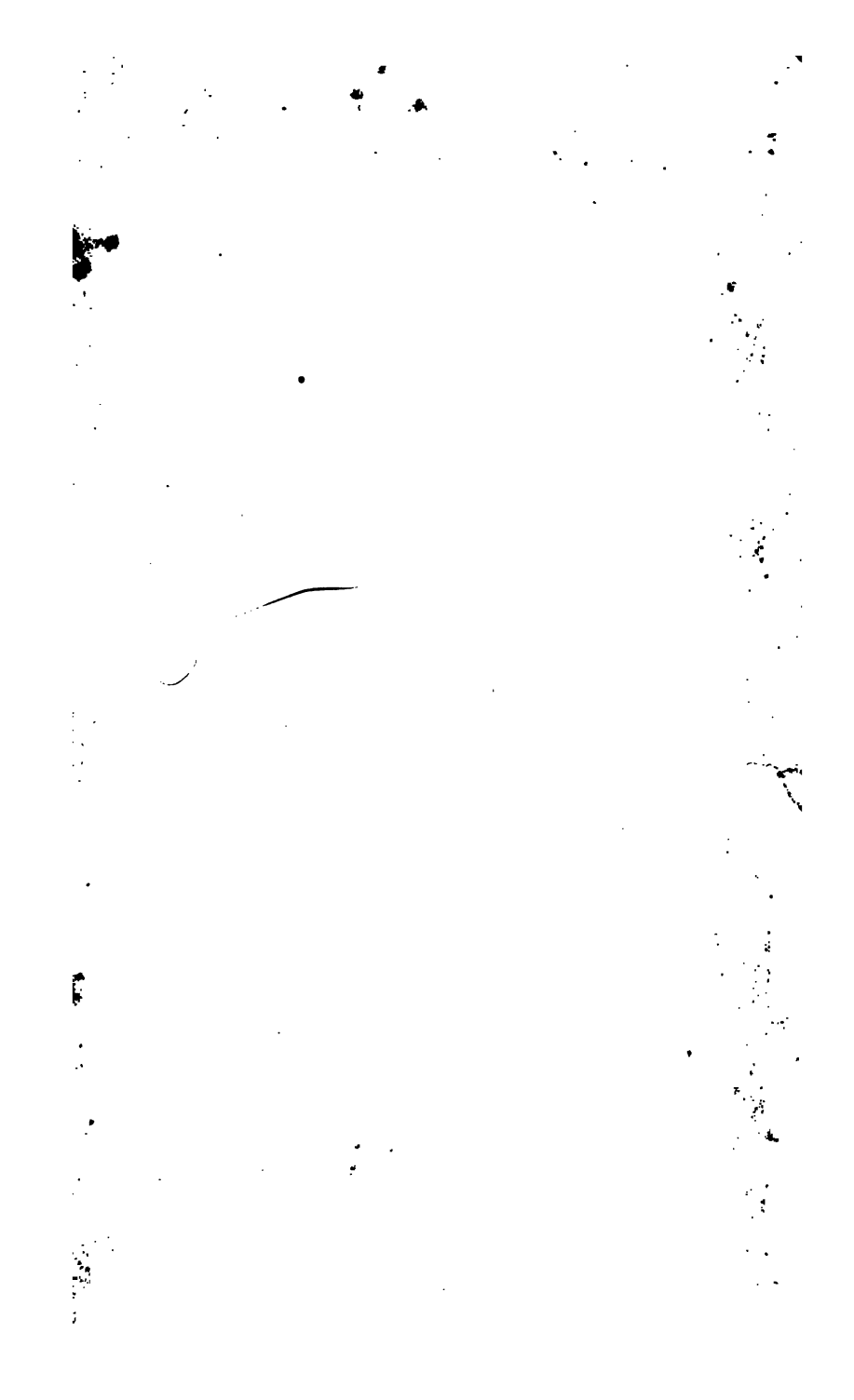
They established their monastery on the ruins of the Temple of the Sun, in the year 1534 ; and shortly afterwards the cathedral was commenced on the site of the palace of Viracocha, on the east side of the great square.

It has a very handsome façade, with two massive stone towers, and is still one of the greatest ornaments of the city.

The Dominicans were followed by the Franciscans, the Augustines, and the Mercedarios, who also founded extensive monasteries ; the latter with most beautiful cloisters, supported by elaborately carved stone columns and arches. Finally the Jesuits, introduced into Peru by the viceroy Castro in 1565, arrived in Cuzco. Their church, on the site of the palace of Huayna Ccapac, on the south side of the great square, with its richly carved front, lofty towers, and extensive cloisters, is by far the finest edifice of the kind in Peru.

It was not long before nuns of the orders of Santa Clara, Santa Teresa, and Santa Catalina, supplied the places of the virgins of the Sun.

The gorgeous and stately ceremonials of the church of Rome now succeeded the festivals of the religion of the Sun ; and, in place of the happy songs and dances





Cathedral of Qazoo (N.E. side of Plaza Mayor)

of the Incas, long monkish processions paraded the streets of Cuzco.

Of these, the most important and magnificent was that on the festival of Corpus Christi, when, from the earliest period of Spanish ascendancy, a vast amount of wealth was yearly expended.

In the little church of Santa Anna at Cuzco, there is a very curious series of pictures, contemporaneous with the conquest, illustrative of the procession of the corpus Christi, which becomes very interesting as a record of the costumes of the Incas and Spaniards of the period.

First march the four religious orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercedarios, and Augustines, followed by the corpus under a splendid canopy, attended by a large body of priests and an old cavalier in black, with the order of Santiago on his shoulder—probably the governor of the city. Then follow the elders of each parish, accompanied by a huge car, in which their patron saint is seated, and preceded by an Inca noble in full national costume. The concluding picture represents the return of the corpus to the cathedral, with the whole Incarial family as spectators, splendidly dressed, with lofty plumes of egrets' feathers on their heads.

The houses in the background have rich carpets hanging from the upper windows to the ground, while the balconies are adorned with pictures of various saints, and at intervals in the streets there is a triumphal arch raised over an altar plated with silver.

The proud bearing of the stately Spanish knights

who had settled in Cuzco, and the costly dresses of the Incarial princes, added not a little to the interest of these religious ceremonies.

The ancient royal family had fallen indeed from their high estate, but they still retained the respect, and, to some extent, even the reverence of their conquerors.

Few ladies came from Spain during the first years of the conquest; and the cavaliers, among whom were many men of rank and education, sought for wives among the princesses of the Indian royal family, whose illustrious ancestry they honoured, and whose beauty they beheld with rapture.

The head of the family of the children of the Sun, the ill-fated heir to a now conquered and ruined land, had fled to the distant forests of Vilca-pampa, where he yet retained his independence.

The family of the Incas, therefore, was represented in the city of Cuzco by a baptized younger son of the great Huayna Ccapac, named Paullu, who resided for many years after the Spanish conquest, among the ruins of the palace of the first Inca, on the Colcampata.

To him the numerous members of the family who still resided at or near Cuzco, lingering among the desecrated and ruined abodes of their ancestors, and mourning over their fatherland, looked for protection as the ostensible representative of the Incas.

Among these were many Ñustas or princesses, the daughters and nieces of Huayna Ccapac. These young ladies were very beautiful, at least the contemporaneous pictures of several of them represent them as possessed of no common charms. But their fate

was a sad and thorny one ; many of them were destined to marry the oppressors of their country, while others, leading mournful and secluded lives, beheld with breaking hearts the bondage and slavery of their people.

The proud Spanish cavaliers, indeed, held it a high honour to be united with a daughter of the Incas, and eagerly sought a marriage with the fair Indian princesses.

Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, set the example by marrying a daughter of the unfortunate Athaulpa, by whom he had a son, who died without issue. On her death, the proud upstart again sought a union with the noble blood of the Incas, and espoused secondly the young princess Inez Ñusta, a daughter of Huayna Ccapac. Their daughter Francisca married, first her uncle Hernando Pizarro, and secondly a Spanish cavalier, Don Martin Ampuero, whose descendants still reside near Cuzco ; and were, as Ulloa informs us, treated with honour by the Spanish viceroys, as representatives of the Incarial family. The Marquises of Montemira were descended from this marriage.

About the same time, several other princesses formed alliances with Spanish cavaliers. Leonora Ñusta, a daughter of Huayna Ccapac, married Don Juan Balsa ; and Maria Tupac Usca, a daughter of Prince Manco, was espoused to Don Pedro Ortoz de Orue, a native of Biscay, from whom descend the family of Justiniani, whose acquaintance I made during my sojourn in the vicinity of Cuzco.

Dona Beatriz Coya, another baptized daughter of Huayna Ccapac, was betrothed by her guardian, Prince Paullu, to a Spanish knight named Marcio Serra de Leguisano, whose alliance she long and firmly opposed. It appears that a painful mystery hung over the parentage of the knight, similar to that which caused the gentle Sir Percy Shafton, of Walter Scott's well-known novel, so much uneasiness. It was whispered at Cuzco that his father was a tailor, and the young ñusta long refused to become a churl's wife. The persuasions and entreaties of her guardian were alike fruitless; but at length, after a long conversation in the recess of a window, he extracted from her the reluctant and equivocal words, "Perhaps I will have him, and perhaps I will not;" and with this half-consent she was married to the reputed tailor's son.

Of this same knight it is recorded, that, in the division of the spoils of Cuzco, the massive golden sun, which was fixed in the great temple of the Ccuri-cancha, fell to his share, and that he gambled it away at primero in one night.

Another marriage took place between the Princess Beatriz Ñusta, daughter of the Inca Syri Tupac, and Don Martin Loyola, a nephew of St. Ignatius, the founder of the order of Jesuits. A curious picture of their nuptials now hangs in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. The young princess, who is very beautiful, with long black hair hanging in plaited tails down her back, is dressed in a costly mantle, secured across the bosom by a golden *topu*, or pin in the shape of a spoon, set with jewels.

By this marriage they had one daughter named Lorenza, who was created Countess of Oropesa in the Indies. She married Don Juan Borgia, a son of the Duke of Gandia; and from them are descended the Counts of Oropesa, Marquises of Lobayna, and Dukes of Gandia.

Lastly, the noble knight Garcilasso de la Vega married a niece of Huayna Ccapac, and grand-daughter of the great monarch Tupac Inca Yupanqui, a beautiful young girl named Isabel Yupanqui Ñusta.

Garcilasso boasted as splendid a line of ancestors as the proudest grandees in Spain. Among them was the dauntless hero who conquered the Moorish giant on the Vega of Grenada, from whom the family derived its surname.

“Garcilasso de la Vega,
They the youth henceforward call,
For his duel in the Vega
Of Grenada chanced to fall.”

Another of his ancestors fell fighting by the side of Edward the Black Prince at the great battle of Najara; and a third saved the life of King John I. of Spain, at the battle of Aljubarrota, by giving him his horse when his own had been killed; hence the ballad beginning

“Si el cavallo vos han muerto,
Subid Rey en mi cavallo.”

Garcilasso de la Vega was a cousin of the famous pastoral poet of the same name, whose eclogues and silvas are well known to every Spanish scholar.

By the marriage of this cavalier, who was one of the first conquerors of Peru, with the Inca princess, he had

one son, who became famous in after years as Garcilasso Inca de la Vega the historian.

The young Garcilasso was born at Cuzco in the year 1540, and received his education at the first school which was established there, in company with other noble youths of Incarial descent; among whom were Francisco, the son of the conqueror Pizarro, and a son of Prince Paullu named Carlos, whose son, Don Melchor Carlos, went to Spain in 1602, was created a knight of Santiago, and granted a large pension.

During his early years Garcilasso had heard from his mother and her relations the glorious story of the greatness of the empire of the Incas, and the sad account of its fall. The young man received with enthusiasm the tales of his maternal relatives, and allowed his imagination to dwell with fervour on the romantic deeds of his ancestors; their gorgeous religion, their patriarchal government, and their splendid conquests, while he mourned over the recital of their final overthrow. All these things were deeply impressed on his young heart, and in after years yielded abundant fruit.

In 1560 he went to Spain, and, after fighting for many years under the banner of Don Juan of Austria, he retired to Cordova and devoted himself to literary pursuits. Then it was that the memory of the days of his youth at Cuzco returned to cheer the retired veteran, the tales of his childhood came back with vivid distinctness to his mind; and, filled with love for the land of his birth, and with pride for his noble forefathers, he resolved to write the history of his ancestors the Incas of Peru.

The first part of his "Royal Commentaries of Peru" was published in 1609, and the whole work was completed in 1616, the year of the author's death.

Though accused of garrulity and inelegance by Ticknor, and of over-credulity by Prescott,* his work has ever remained the text-book of Peruvian history, and at the present day no Peruvian of any education is without his Garcilasso. I have even seen it in one of the most wretched huts on the coast.

It attained sufficient fame to receive both a French and an English translation; and the latter, by old Sir Paul Rycaut, published in James II.'s reign, is to be found in many of the private libraries of England.

Thus the History of the Incas was written by one of their own blood and lineage, who, seizing pen and ink, the previously unknown implements of the oppressors of his race, placed his work on record to immortalise the deeds of his ancestors, and remain for posterity a trustworthy protest against the lying and garbled narratives of the Spanish chroniclers.

There is something deeply interesting in this historian, who has thus boldly placed his unfortunate countrymen in their true light, and left the world to judge between them and their tyrants.

Let us now return to the sad narrative of the clouded fortunes of the Incas, whose last chief was soon to close his life in blood.

In 1555 the Marquis of Cañete, a scion of the noble

* It is pleasant to find, however, that both Mr. Ticknor, in his "History of Spanish Literature," and Mr. Prescott, in his "Conquest of Peru," give on the whole, a flattering notice of the work of the old Inca historian.

house of Mendoza, arrived at Lima as viceroy of Peru. The distracted country, torn for many years by the wretched broils of its turbulent conquerors, had at length been restored to peace by the defeat of the rebel Fernando Giron at Pucara in 1554; and the Marquis entered upon his government under more propitious auspices than had been the lot of any of his predecessors. Having settled the rival claims of numberless applicants for lands and employment, and executed severe acts of justice upon the rebels, he turned his attention to the Indians and their fallen princes, unable to feel at his ease while the heir to the throne was at large in the forests of Vilca-pampa.

Unlike most of his countrymen, the Marquis of Cañete appears to have been humane and strictly honourable; and he easily prevailed on the Inca princess, Beatriz Coya, who had married the tailor knight, to undertake a delicate mission to Vilca-pampa, and prevail upon her nephew, the Inca Sayri Tupac, who had succeeded his father, Prince Manco, to place himself under the protection of the representative of his catholic majesty.

The persuasions of the embassadress were at first opposed by the tried and veteran councillors of the Inca; but Sayri Tupac, who was of a mild disposition, at length yielded to her representations, and, leaving his retreat, accompanied her in a long and tedious journey to Lima. He was there received, with regal pomp, by the Marquis of Cañete and the Archbishop Geronimo de Loaysa. It was stipulated that the Inca should receive a grant of land and a pension, on

resigning his right of sovereignty into the hands of the viceroy. It was a cruel necessity which forced the young prince to resign his glorious inheritance; and, as he signed away the rights of himself and his heirs to the empire of his fathers, a tear fell from his eye; and, taking up a tassel of the golden fringe that bordered the table-cover, he exclaimed, "Behold, the whole of this velvet cover belonged to my fathers, and now they would satisfy me with a morsel of the gilded fringe!"

Eventually Sayri Tupac returned to Cuzco, and settled at Yucay, in the sweet vale of Vilcamayu, the favourite residence of his great ancestor, the Inca Viracocha. Bowed down by shame and melancholy, the lovely gardens, the delicious fruits, and refreshing baths of Yucay, all failed to revive his drooping spirits, and he died in a few years, followed, shortly afterwards to the grave, by his brother, the Inca Cusi Ti'u Yupanqui.

The youngest son of Manco Inca, named Tupac Amaru, now succeeded to the empty titles of his brother. He was of a very different character from the gentle Sayri Tupac, and, preferring the freedom of the wild forests of Vilca-pampa to the degrading gold of his conquerors, the young prince resolved to retain his independence in this remote corner of his dominions rather than endure the disgrace and shame of receiving a Spanish pension.

Meanwhile, the Marquis of Cañete dying in 1561, was succeeded by Lope de Castro, and in 1569 Don Francisco de Toledo arrived in Lima, as viceroy of Peru.

Toledo was the second son of the Count of Oropesa, of the same stock as Alva, the butcher of the Netherlands. Cold and cruel, with a large, pale face, heavy under-jaw, hooked nose, and small black eyes, he owed his appointment to having found favour in the sight of Philip II. by a hypocritical affectation of religion.

On his arrival at Cuzco, Toledo resolved that the unfortunate young Inca should no longer enjoy his freedom; and accordingly Don Martin Loyola was despatched with a party of 250 men to Vilca-bamba to secure his person.

Tupac Amaru fled down the river on the approach of the Spaniards, but his pursuers gained upon him, and at length, faint from fatigue and want of food, he surrendered to Loyola, the husband of his niece, and was brought captive to Cuzco.

Finding the harmless young Indian was in his power, the cruel Toledo, worthy of his relationship to Alva, determined to put him to death; and the petitions and entreaties both of the Spanish cavaliers and the Indians of Cuzco to spare the life of the poor young Inca, who was guilty of no offence, were alike ineffectual.

A scaffold was erected in the great square of Cuzco, and the viceregal fiend seated himself at a window to enjoy the sight. Then Tupac Amaru, followed by a crowd of priests, appeared upon the scaffold, while cries and lamentations from the Indians, who thronged the square and adjoining streets, resounded far and wide.

The Inca raised his hand, and the tumult ceased.

It was his last command, and it was obeyed. He then exclaimed—

“Let it be proclaimed to all the world that I have done no wrong, and that I die only because it is the pleasure of the tyrant.” Then kneeling down and clasping his hands, he cried, “O, God! behold how mine enemies rob me of my blood!”* and his head was severed from his body, while a wild despairing cry re-echoed from the vast assemblage, and carried grief and mourning far away into all the valleys of the Andes.

Thus fell young Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, in the year 1571, and with him ended the glorious dynasty that had ruled over Peru for five hundred years.

No prayer for vengeance was heard from his dying lips; unlike Conradin of Naples in his conduct, though their fates were similar, he threw no glove into the crowd; but years and years afterwards a cry was heard throughout Peru which made the Spanish tyrants tremble. His name once more was heard as a rallying cry, and, as will be seen hereafter, a terrible retribution avenged the unjust death of the last of the Incas.

In 1581 Don Francisco de Toledo resigned his government, and hastened to the court of Philip II., where he found a reception he had little bargained for. On entering the presence, he was told by that austere monarch, “that he had not been sent to Peru to behead kings,” and coldly dismissed. It is said that

* “Ceollanap Pachacamac! ricuay succacunac yahuarniy hichascancuta.”

he died a few months afterwards of chagrin and remorse.

The fate of the remaining members of the family of the Incas is soon told. Many of them were forced to reside at Lima, where they did not live long, owing to the injurious effects of the climate. The few who survived forwarded their claims to Philip III. in 1602, with a pedigree from the time of Manco Ccapac, attested by their signatures painted on an ell and a half of Chinese white taffeta.

At the present day, the only surviving descendants by a lineal male line which I have been able to trace out with accuracy, are Don Clemente Tisoc and his son, who reside at the little town of San Geronimo, near Cuzco. Don Clemente is said to be an expert botanist.

One other member of the family of the Incas, who died only a few years since, is deserving of notice.

This is Dr. Don Justo Sahuaraura Inca, who was descended both from Huayna Ccapac and from Pachacutec, and was born at Cuzco at the end of the last century. After receiving a good education, he entered into holy orders; and, having performed the duties of a parish priest in several villages, and also those of a deputy to the Peruvian Congress of 1825, became Archdeacon of Cuzco in 1838. A few years before his death, the old Inca published a genealogical work, with portraits of the Incas, called "*La Monarquía Peruana*,"* in which, I believe, he was assisted by General Santa

* "*Recuerdos de la Monarquía Peruana*, 6 bosquejo de la historia de los Incas, por Don Justo Sahuaraura Inca." Paris, 1850.

Cruz. The work first appeared in Paris in 1850. Old Don Justo Inca left two nieces, who reside in a house surrounded by alder-trees, near the banks of the river Huatanay, and on the site of the gardens of the Temple of the Sun. His nephew, Don Luis Ramos Titu Atauchi, is, I believe, a lawyer in Cuzco.

Such is a brief account of the surviving members of the family of the Incas. Once mighty monarchs ruling over a vast empire, whose glory seemed imperishable, the celestial race, by a sad reverse of fortune, were cast from their high position, and, in a few short years, beaten to the earth by cruel conquerors; and now their very name, though still honoured and beloved by the poor Indians, is well-nigh extinct, and survives only in two or three male descendants.

Yet many a mightier dynasty may mourn a sadder fate, and at least the deeds of the Incas are immortalised in the literature of Europe; for, from the chronicles of Zarate, Montesinos, Cieza de Leon, and Garcilasso de la Vega, have sprung the histories of Robertson and Prescott, the drama of Sheridan, and the romance of Marmontel.

After the execution of Tupac Amaru, the spirit of the Indians was quite subdued, and the Spaniards obtained a complete mastery over their victims. Cuzco continued to rank as the second city in Peru, and was inhabited by many noble Spanish families. During the viceregal times, their houses were furnished with great magnificence, many of them received titles of honour from the court of Spain, and in a short time the city was adorned with beautiful churches, and

handsome private houses. The University, a fine edifice, with spacious stone cloisters, was founded in 1598 by Don Antonio de la Raya, the fifth bishop of Cuzco; and raised to the rank of a university by Pope Innocent XII., in 1692. It now numbers about ninety graduated doctors.* The Jesuits also founded the college of San Borja, for the education of the children of Indian nobles. The building is handsome, but the establishment has long since been suppressed, and its halls are now used for a small boys' school. They are decorated with portraits of the Incas, painted on the walls.

Since the establishment of independence in Peru, many of the families of Cuzco have become impoverished or retired to Lima and other parts; their fine houses have become dilapidated; and as I passed along the streets, I found that many a handsome and elaborately carved doorway led to a court now inhabited by the poorest people, once the wealthy abode of some Spanish nobleman.

The city and department of Cuzco † is now governed by a prefect appointed by the president of the republic, and on my arrival I was received with warm hospitality by the excellent General Don Manuel de la Guarda, in the cabildo, or government-house. The cabildo is a handsome stone building, erected on the ruins of an ancient Incarial edifice, which forms the

* The university is dedicated to San Antonio Abad.

† The population of the department of Cuzco, in 1845, was 300,700, and of the city and immediate neighbourhood, 58,300. The department contains 13 provinces. (See *Correo Peruano*, July 30, 1845.)

ground-floor. It covers one side of a spacious square, in the centre of which there is a fountain; and the upper story has a broad stone corridor running the whole length of the building, with open arches supported by columns.

The morning after my arrival was Easter Monday, an important festival in Cuzco, when thousands of young men and girls from the adjacent villages flock into the city, and a grand procession parades the streets. The family of General Guarda sat with me on the corridor, with several other ladies, provided with large baskets filled with scarlet salvias, which it is customary to shower over the procession as it passes.

The whole square, and the neighbouring streets, were one vast sea of heads, all in eager expectation. At length the procession began to pass under the corridor into the square. First came a regiment of soldiers, followed by the members of the superior court of justice, the students of the colleges, all the religious orders, and the dean and chapter. Then followed the great object of adoration itself, called "Nuestro Señor de los temblores" (our Lord of the earthquakes), consisting of a colossal wooden crucifix, well carved and painted, which is said to have been presented to the cathedral of Cuzco by the emperor Charles V.

Its pedestal was one mass of scarlet salvias, as were also the heads and shoulders of the people who formed the procession, and as they passed, we showered our supply over the crucifix in addition. These exhibitions are regarded by the poor Indians with the

greatest devotion, and supply the place of the worship of the Sun. It is a question which is the most idolatrous!

The higher dignitaries of the church at Cuzco are men of a very superior stamp. The Bishop Don Eugenio Jara y Mendoza is an aged and dignified prelate; and I have seldom met a kinder and more agreeable man than Don Manuel Carazas, the dean of the cathedral. To the rector of the university, Don Julian Ochoa, I am indebted for a very curious drama of the time of the Incas; and he appeared a learned and upright clergyman. Of the inferior clergy, however, as much cannot be said. The friars, especially the Dominicans, are very dirty; and the seculars, with a few honourable exceptions, are illiterate, and not unfrequently immoral. The curate of the church of San Cristobal had the assurance to open a carved box in the sacristy, and show me a large cow's tooth, which he declared to be the tooth of that allegorical saint.

Besides the clergy, the present society of Cuzco is not very large. At the head of it, are the prefect and his family, the commandant of police, and other officials. The men of law consist of six vocales and a fiscal, composing the superior court of justice, together with a few abogados, or barristers. Among these, is the clever and amusing Dr. Miranda, who makes impromptu speeches in verse at dinner-parties, and has translated "Hamlet" into Spanish. The resident foreigners consist of a Polish architect, a Frenchman, who teaches at the college, and an Italian, who is searching for hidden treasure.

The principal society of Cuzco, however, is to be found among the families of the landed proprietors, who live for a great part of the year on their estates, such as the Astetes, Artajonas, Novoas, and Nadals.

The ground-floor of the private houses, facing the street, is usually occupied by shops, while the upper story, with folding-doors, opening on to a trellised balcony, is inhabited by the family. A broad doorway leads from the street into a court-yard, round which the more private rooms extend.

The houses frequently have a little garden behind, with tall clipped hedges, little statues, and beds of roses, pinks, heliotropes, fuschias, and salvias. The rooms are long and often very handsomely furnished, with old-fashioned chairs, cabinets inlaid with mother of pearl, and almost always a piano-forte.*

The young ladies of Cuzco are, in general, very beautiful, with regular features, fresh olive complexions, bright eyes, full of intelligence, furnished with long lashes, and masses of black hair, plaited in two tails. They are highly educated, as there is an excellent college for girls;† yet their complete seclusion gives them a simple and ingenuous manner; and they are remarkable for their kind-hearted affability.

The young men have also every opportunity of im-

* As there are no wheeled vehicles of any kind, the pianos all have to be carried up from the coast on the shoulders of Indians.

† Founded by General Bolivar in 1825.

The Rector and Professor of arithmetic, } is now Dona Antonia Perez.
 morals, religion, and embroidery .

„	of urbanity and sewing	„	Gertrudis Araujo.
„	of geography and grammar	„	Andrea Bernal.

proving their minds, both at the University and at the College of Science and Arts.* All those with whom I met, were civil, gentlemanlike, and intelligent.

A museum and library was founded at Cuzco in 1848; the museum containing many Incarial antiquities, and the library about 9000 volumes.

There is also an *alameda*, or promenade with two double rows of alder-trees, along the banks of the Huatanay, and commanding a fine view of the convent of San Domingo, the former Temple of the Sun.

The middle and lower orders of Cuzco, at the present day, are an industrious and talented race; especially famous for their skill in carving and carpentry. Some of the sofas, cabinets, and tables, richly carved and made of the beautiful woods of the Montaña, are not surpassed in design and workmanship by the furniture of the drawing-rooms of London or Paris. A considerable quantity of coarse cloth is also woven in the neighbourhood, and an extensive trade is carried on in cocoa, India rubber, and other articles from the adjacent forests.

More attractive from the remembrances of the past than from its advantages in the present day, the beautiful city of Cuzco, almost entirely unknown to Englishmen, is one of the most interesting places in the world—interesting from its glorious associations, from the interest attached to every building, every rock, every hill in the city and its vicinity, from the splendid

* The College of Science and Arts has a rector and vice-rector, and professorships of theology, law, mathematics, philosophy, Latin, Spanish, and French, drawing, and geography. The students wear cocked hats and black tail coats.

ruins in which it abounds, and, above all, from the presence of the same race of people which raised it to its lofty pinnacle of greatness, and whose descendants now mourn for its fall.

The picturesque dresses of the Indians, as they drive the large flocks of llamas through the streets, or sit on some grassy slope with their young wives by their sides, are very attractive. Their mournful and pathetic songs, accompanied by a little guitar, which are wafted across the silent fields; and their sad and downcast looks, as they tend the flocks around the colossal fortifications of their ancestors, give this much-injured race an interest unfelt among many a more prosperous people.

But there may yet be a future for Cuzco, which may raise it once more to its former glorious state; and hope points to the eastward, to the inexhaustible fertility of its mighty forests, to the broad rivers which open a communication to the Amazon, to the enterprise of the Saxon race, as the sources of its renewed prosperity.

If once the vast rivers, whose feeders dash down from the Cordilleras around Cuzco, were thoroughly explored, what prodigious effects their navigation might produce on the industry and future prospects of the old city of the Incas! The inhabitants of the interior of Peru would at length succeed in turning the adamantine barrier of the Andes, an inland navigation would waft her varied productions by a direct and easy route to the Old World, a short communication would be opened out between Cuzco and Europe, and

the city of the Incas would once more become the capital of Peru.

That this is not a wild theory, though the imagination is almost lost in the grandeur of the trains of thought to which it gives rise, may be seen from the attention which the United States and the government of South America are even now giving to the subject; and we may fairly indulge a hope that beautiful Cuzco, the city of palaces, the sacred abode of the children of the Sun, the beloved home of the Incas, may once more, and at no distant date, become a city of first-rate importance, and one of the chief emporiums of the rising inland trade of the continent of South America.

"Se commueven del Incas las tumbas
Y en sus huesos revive el ardor,
Lo que vé renovando a sus hijos,
De la patria, el antiguo esplendor."

LIST OF THE INCAS.

(ACCORDING TO GARCILASSO INCA DE LA VEGA.)

A.D.		A.D.	
1021	I. Manco Ccapac.	1475	XII. Huayna Ccapac.
1062	II. Sinchi Rocca.	1526	XIII. Huascar.
1091	III. Lloque Yupanqui.	1532	XIV. Inca Manco.
1126	IV. Mayta Ccapac.	1558	XV. Sayri Tupac.
1156	V. Ccapac Yupanqui.	1560	XVI. Cusi Titu Yupanqui.
1197	VI. Inca Rocca.	1562	XVII. Tupac Amaru, ob. 1571.
1249	VII. Yahuar-huaccac.		
1289	VIII. Viracocha.		
1340	IX. Pachacutec.		Atahualpa, the traitor, is never admitted by the Peruvians into the list of their Incas.
1400	X. Inca Yupanqui.		
1439	XI. Tupac Inca Yupanqui.		

CHAPTER VI.

QUICHUA—ON THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF THE INCAS.

(See Appendix A.)

THE vale of Vilcamayu—the paradise of Peru—the favourite residence of the Incas, is one of the most delightful spots in this favoured land. The rapid river which forms it rises in the mountains of Vilcañota, and flowing rapidly through the department of Cuzco, leaving the city at a distance of about twenty miles on the western side, forms a junction with the Apurimac after a course of about 400 miles.

The valley through which it winds is seldom more than three miles in breadth, and is bounded on its eastern side by the snow-capped range of the Andes, and to the westward by a lower range of steep and rocky mountains. Within these narrow limits the vale of Vilcamayu enjoys a delicious climate, and the picturesque farms with their maize towers surrounded by little forests of fruit-trees ; the villages scattered here and there along the banks of the rapid river ; the bright green fields ; and the groves of trees, backed by the lofty mountains which rise abruptly from the valley, and are always canopied by a clear blue sky, combine to form a landscape of exceeding beauty.

One of the most delightful spots in this favoured vale, is the little town of Urubamba, with its avenue of poplars, its fruit-gardens, and pleasant meadows. It is about two miles from the village of Yucay, where the ruins of the summer palace of the Incas are still to be seen, and a fruit-market is held in the square under the shade of some immense forest-trees.

There is a house in Urubamba, with large airy rooms, and a stone corridor opening upon a beautiful flower garden with clipped box hedges, and masses of roses and jessamine. In the walls were little aviaries filled with singing birds, the bright yellow and black *tuyas*, and the warbling *choccla-poccochis*, the nightingales of Peru. At one corner of the garden is a little watch-tower, with a summer-house on the top, and beyond is a large grove of peach and nectarine trees, while the towering Andes bounded the view in front, piercing the clear blue sky with their snowy peaks.

It was to this charming retreat that I retired, in April, 1853, to study the literature of the ancient Peruvians, while surrounded by the beautiful scenery of the beloved valley (Huayllu-pampa) of the Incas, and entertained by hospitable people who spoke their language in all its purity.

The language of the Peruvians, which was spoken throughout the empire, and called by the Spaniards "La Lengua General," was the Quichua; but it is said that in the time of the Incas, there was another language used only by the court, which has now disappeared. This may possibly have only been a purer dialect of the Quichua; but at the same time there

are words in that language which have probably strayed from the court language of the Incas, which bear a striking analogy to corresponding Sanscrit words, and point with some significance to their foreign origin.

Among these may be mentioned the resemblance between Ynti, the Sun, (in Quichua,) and Indra, the Hindoo god of the heavens. Raymi was the great Peruvian festival in honour of the Sun, and Rama was a child of the Sun in India. Sita, too, was the wife of Rama in the Hindoo mythology, and Citua was another Peruvian festival of the Sun. Other words have been mentioned by several authors as resembling in the two languages, and some of the numerals are also similar; but it is impossible to say whether this apparent resemblance is merely accidental, or whether it is a proof of the Hindoo origin of the Incas.

However it may be with regard to the court dialect, it is certain that the Quichua language was cultivated by the bards and sages from the earliest times, and was always used by the government, and introduced into the conquered provinces.

The Quichua is one of the most widely spread of the South American languages, and possesses all the characteristics of that great family. From Darien to Cape Horn there are said to be from 280 to 300 languages, all of which have a similar grammatical construction, though the words are frequently entirely different.

Of these, the two most extensively used are the Guarani, which is spoken in Paraguay, and in dialects more or less distinct is to be found throughout the

Brazils, and along the banks of the Amazon; and the Quichua which is spoken throughout the countries once forming the empire of the Incas, from Quito to Tucuman,—either in its purity, or in the Aymara dialect, which is used on the shores of lake Titicaca, and in northern parts of Bolivia. There are several other dialects of the Quichua, such as the Quiteño, which is very impure, and full of foreign words; the Yunca, the Chinchu-suyu, spoken in the department of Junin; the Cauqui, in Yauyos; and the Calchaqui, in Tucuman.

The Quichua language possesses great facility of expression, a complicated grammar, and, though possessed of a copious abundance of compound words, is capable of great energy and conciseness.

It has a highly perfected conjugation, and declensions formed by particles added to the word; while its system of numerals is so complete, that any arithmetical combination can be expressed.

In common with the Semitic and other Asiatic tongues, the Quichua differs from the Indo-Germanic languages, in forming its grammar, not by an internal change of the root or by flexion, but by adding certain particles to the root, as mere mechanical affixes.

There is another remarkable peculiarity in the Quichua language, which adds much to the complicated conjugation of the verbs. This has been called by the Jesuit grammarians a verbal transition, and consists in the incorporation of the accusative, if a pronoun, as well as the nominative, into the verb itself; thus, "I love you," or "he loves me," becomes

one, instead of three words, as, *munayqui*, *muna-huanmi*.

One more peculiar feature in the Quichua may be mentioned, and that is, that a man frequently uses a different word from a woman in speaking of the same person. Thus:—

A brother, when speaking of his sister, says Panay.			
Sister	„	her sister,	„ Nñay.
Sister	„	her brother	„ Huauquey.
Brother	„	his brother	„ Llocsimsasiy.
Father	„	his son	„ Churiy.
Mother	„	her son	„ Ccari huahuay.
Father	„	his daughter	„ Ususiy.
Mother	„	her daughter	„ Huarmi huahuay.

and there are also differences if they are the uncles or aunts that speak, or if they are on the side of the father or the mother.

Frequently, various parts of a sentence in Quichua are united to the verbal root, and thus entire sentences may often be expressed by a single compound verb. An immense number of phrases and compound words are thus formed, which may be augmented *ad infinitum* and gives the language an uncommon richness and facility of expression.

Though the Incas possessed no alphabet or mode of writing,* the well-known contrivance of the Quipus,

* G. de la Vega indeed (lib. ii. c. xi.) mentions certain hieroglyphics used by the wise men of Cuzco.

Rivero mentions hieroglyphics carved on rocks near Arequipa, and also in Huaytara, in the province of Castro-Vireyna.

Dr. Von Tschudi also mentions some near Huara, on the coast of Peru.

Montesinos, an old Spanish chronicler, asserts that in the first age of the Incas the use of letters was known, but that the art was lost in the reign of Titu Yupanqui V. Montesinos, however, is a notorious fabricator.

In the last century, a European missionary found among the Panos

or method of counting and even recording events by means of cords, was equally ingenious and original.

The quipus of the Peruvians were of twisted wool, and consisted of a thick cord, with threads more or less fine, attached to the main part. The smaller lines were covered with knots either single or double. The size of the quipus vary much, sometimes the main cord being five or six yards long, and at others not more than a foot; the branches rarely exceeding a yard in length, and being sometimes shorter.

In the neighbourhood of Lurin, on the coast of Peru, a quipu was found which weighed twelve pounds. The different colours of the threads had different meanings; thus, the red signified a soldier or war; the yellow, gold; the white, silver or peace, &c.

In the system of arithmetic, a single knot signified 10, two single knots 20, a double knot 100, a triple knot 1000, and so on to higher numbers.

But not only the colour and mode of combining the knots, but also the laying up of the strands of the cord, and the distances of the threads apart, were of great importance in reading the quipus.

It is probable, that in the earliest times, this ingenious contrivance was merely used for enumeration, as the shepherd notches the number of his sheep on a stick; but in the course of time, the science was so

Indians who inhabit the banks of the Yucayali, some manuscripts on paper formed from the leaves of the plantain, with hieroglyphics and separate characters, containing, according to the Indians, the history of their ancestors.

much improved, that the initiated were able to knot historical records, laws, and decrees, so that the great events of the empire were transmitted to posterity ; and, to some extent, the quipus supplied the place of chronicles and national archives.

The registry of tributes, the census of populations, the lists of arms, of soldiers, and of stores, the supplies of maize, clothes, shoes, &c. in the storehouses, were all specified with admirable exactness by the quipus ; and in every town, of any importance, there was an officer, called the quipu-camayoc, to knot and decipher these documents.

Rivero tells us, that there have been repeated attempts to decipher those quipus which have been lately found, but that they have all been frustrated from the fact that each knot represents a particular idea ; and also from the absence of any verbal commentary as to what subject the quipu treated of, information which was required even by the most practised quipu-camayoc.

The Quichua language, however, owes its beauty and elegance, more to the traditional ballads and dramas of the bards, than to the records of the quipu-camayocs.

The Amautas, or wise men, who, in their dramas and other compositions, immortalised the historical events of their country, held a high position in the Incarial court ; and the Haravecs or elegiac and lyric poets cultivated the Muses with some success. The compositions of the latter are probably of most ancient date, and the poetry of their *yaravis* or elegies

certainly reached to some degree of perfection. Their subject is usually forgotten love, or the recital of some mournful catastrophe; and they are written in four syllable lines, sometimes alternating with three.

The ancient Peruvians were fond of music, using *chanrares* or castanets, and the *huancar* or drum in their triumphal processions and ceremonies; while the *pincullu* or flute, and the *tinya*, a species of guitar, were used as accompaniments to the *haravis* and love-songs of their poets.

Garcilasso de la Vega has preserved two fragments of Incarial poems, which are curious from their great antiquity.

The first appears to be an imaginative piece addressed to the Moon, in which her brother, the Sun, by breaking a vase, is supposed to cause the fall of rain and snow.

Sumac Ñusta	. . .	Beautiful Princess !
Turallay quim	. . .	thy brother
Sunuy quita	. . .	thy urn
Paquiy carcan	. . .	has broken.
Hino mantara	. . .	For that blow
Cunununan	. . .	(it thunders) there flashes around
Yllapantac	. . .	(and bolts fall) thunder and lightning.
Camri Ñusta	. . .	But thou, O Princess !
Unuy Quita	. . .	pouring forth,
Paracta munqui	. . .	dost drop rain,
Ca nimpiri	. . .	and again
Chichi munqui	. . .	dost drop hail,
Riti munqui	. . .	dost drop snow.
Pacha rurac	. . .	The Maker of the Earth,
A Viracocha	. . .	Viracocha,
Cay hinapanca	. . .	hath committed
Churan ssunqui	. . .	and entrusted
Cona ssunqui	. . .	this office to you.

The second is merely a fragment of a love-song, intended for the flute or the guitar.

Caylla llapi	To the song
Pununqui	you will sleep.
Chaupi tuta	In dead of night
Hamusac	I will come.

But the poets of the Incarial court were capable of far higher flights in the regions of poesy, than these meagre specimens would indicate; and luckily, one or two of their dramatic compositions, taken down from the mouths of the Indians, soon after the conquest, have been preserved to the present day.

The most famous of these is the tragedy of "Ollantay," composed in the time of the Inca Yupanqui, a copy of which I was informed was in the possession of Don Pablo Justiniani, the priest of Laris, and a descendant of the Incas; whose secluded little village, perched like an eyrie in one of the remote recesses of the eastern cordillera of the Andes, I determined to visit.

Leaving Urubamba early one April morning, I commenced the ascent of the mountains by a zigzag path, bordered on either side by sweet and graceful flower-bearing trees and bushes. The views from different points of the road, looking down on the vale of Vilcaymayu were most striking; but as the ascent continued, the trees gave place to long grassy patches, and before reaching the summit of the pass, I rode round the shores of a silent lake, whose surface was skimmed by the large white water-fowl.

The summit of the pass was covered with snow,

and after a long descent, the road led through wide-spreading pasture lands, where here and there a shepherd's hut might be seen, and near it, a little Indian girl tending a flock of alpacas, and singing one of her plaintive national songs.

After many miles of wild pasture country, the way enters a long ravine, with lofty mountains rising up on every side, at the end of which the little village of Laris, with its tall church steeple, appear amidst a grove of flowering trees and bushes.

I passed into the courtyard of the old priest's house, and found him reading his breviary in a small rose garden, with a Coraquenque, the sacred bird of the Incas, whose wing feathers in the turban of the reigning prince were the symbols of royalty, seated on a perch before him.

The first greeting of the old man was not very friendly, but on hearing the motive of my visit his manner completely changed, and he conducted me into his house, with every demonstration of kindness and hospitality.

Round his sitting-room a series of full-length portraits of the Incas were hung, and long strings of the skins of birds of the most brilliant plumage, crossed each other in every direction.

I was now tête-à-tête with a descendant of the Incas. Don Pablo Justiniani was descended from a Cavalier who married a daughter of the Princess Maria Usca, a grand-daughter of the great Inca Huayna Ccapac, and his paternal ancestry was still more brilliant. He sprang from that famous Genoese family, one of whose

scions was a Doge of Genoa, and another commanded the Genoese contingent when Constantinople was besieged by Mahomet II. He is called in his pedigree Juan the Valorous, but Gibbon rather insinuates he should have been called John the Coward.* This family traces its descent from the Emperor Justinian.

Don Pablo was deeply interested in everything connected with the history of the Incas, and brought out a huge manuscript volume containing, together with numberless ancient Quichua songs, the famous tragedy of which I was in search.

The old priest was very handsome, with an eye full of enthusiasm, and was possessed of great conversational powers. Besides the kitchens, his house consisted only of a long sitting-room, with a small chamber at each end, one inhabited by himself, and the other by his pretty niece. My bed was made up in a corner of the sitting room : and while my days were occupied in copying the most valuable specimens of Quichuan literature, I walked out in the evenings, and bathed in the natural hot-springs about a mile distant, so famous for their salubrious qualities.†

Don Pablo informed me that the dramas in the time

* *Gibbon*, vol. vi. chap. lxviii.

† The beneficial effects of these thermal springs of the Andes were well known to the Incas, and were used by them for the cure of diseases, as well as for recreation. They were called in Quichua *conic puquio*. Their baths or tanks were frequently of silver, and were called *armana huasi*. Those in the palaces of Cuzco and Yucay were adorned with silver figures, and the mouth of the pipes usually represented some bird or animal with water issuing from its mouth ; when vertical, they were called *huraca*, and when horizontal, *paccha*.

of the Incas were acted before the court, in the great square at Cuzco; that the custom was kept up long after the Spanish conquest, and that he himself could remember having seen, when a very little boy, a Quichua tragedy acted by Indians in the town of Tinta.

The drama in his possession, which tradition says was performed before the Court of Huayna Ccapac, is called "Apu Ollantay," and is undoubtedly the most valuable specimen of the literature of the Incas in existence. It is said to have been first reduced to writing shortly after the conquest, by Spanish priests, from the mouths of the Indians. Several of the old manuscripts are still preserved in Cuzco, and that from which I took my version, was copied from a curious manuscript* in the possession of Dr. Valdez, by Don Pablo's father. I had the opportunity of collating it with a copy in possession of Dr. Rosas, the priest of Chinchero, and with the edition published by Dr. Von Tschudi in his great work on the Quichua language.†

The events on which the drama is founded took place during the reign of the Inca Pachacutec; and the plot hinges upon the unlawful love of a young chieftain named Ollantay, who was brave and handsome but not of royal lineage, with the Princess Cusi Coyllur (the joyful star), a daughter of the Inca.

The play commences with a colloquy between Ollantay and his servant Piqui Chaqui, or the swift of foot,‡

* Now in possession of Don Narciso Cuentas, of Tinta.

† Kechua Sprache. 2 vols. Vienna, 1853.

‡ Literally, "flea-footed."

in a street at Cuzco. Ollantay in a gilded tunic, with a *macana* or war-club in his hand, opens the conversation.

- Ollantay.* Piqui Chaqui ! hast thou beheld
The Princess Cusi Coyllur in the palace ?
- Piqui Chaqui.* The Sun, our Deity, forbids it.
Know you not that it is unlawful
To look upon a daughter of the Inca ?
- Ollantay.* And know you not that nothing
Can move my love for the tender dove ?
O, by what road shall my heart go,
That it may seek the Palla !*
- Piqui Chaqui.* The Devil† has perplexed you,
And you wander in your speech.‡
Are there not plenty of other young girls,
Who would love you, before you are old ?
Should the Inca hear of your love,
He would chop you into mince-meat.
- Ollantay.* Silence ! speak not to me of punishment,
Else will I lay my *macana* across your back.
- Piqui Chaqui.* Away then, Piqui ! fall not by his hand.
Fall not like a dog. Away, Piqui !
Each day, each night, he shall miss me ;
The year shall not see me in his presence.
- Ollantay.* Go then—leave me ! Piqui Chaqui !
Lead forth the dances of straw
With the light-footed girls on the mountains.
But for me—though enemies attack me,
Though traitors stand on every side,
Yet will I embrace my Cusi Coyllur.
- Piqui Chaqui.* If the Devil§ should stand by you ?
- Ollantay.* Him also would I spurn with my foot.||
- Piqui Chaqui.* You never yet saw the tip of his nose,
How then dare you speak to him ? ¶
- Ollantay.* Cease your nonsense, Piqui ! while I speak.
What if you could hide this bright flower,
Perchance my sweet Coyllur might see it,
And, thinking of me, speak to herself aloud !

* Princess. † Supay. ‡ *Muspaha*, to go mad.

§ Supay. || *Hustu*, to stamp.

¶ *Mana senncata ricuspan Cunan ccancca rimascanqui.*

- Piqui Chaqui.* Still perplexing yourself concerning Coyllur.
 How can I help you ?
 Each day you grow more sad for this girl.
 You forget alike the worship of Ynti,*
 And the duty you owe to Quilla.†
- Ollantay.* You know her by sight ?
 How beautiful, how joyful she is.
 But now you walked past her,
 And beheld her ever lovely and joyful.
- Piqui Chaqui.* Indeed I know her not by sight.‡
 I have indeed passed by the palace,
 But never entered its precincts,
 Or beheld the Princess.
- Ollantay.* Do you assert, then, that you never saw her ?
- Piqui Chaqui.* I have only beheld, in their secret abodes,
 The bright and adorable stars § of night.
- Ollantay.* Go then with this flower to a star ;
 That star most lovely of all,
 More beautiful even than Ynti !
 Peerless amidst the hosts of heaven.
- Piqui Chaqui.* If it should be possible,
 I will bribe some old man or woman ;
 I will be awake || and try it,
 And your token shall be carried to the Palla.
 I then consent to be your messenger,
 Though I am but a poor orphan. ¶

At this point the conversation is broken off by the entrance of the Huillac Umu, or High Priest of the Sun, in a black mantle, with a knife in his hand, who thus soliloquises :—

Huillac Umu. O, living Sun ! I watch your course,
 As it moves downwards in the heavens ;
 For you are now preparing
 A thousand sacrificial llamas.
 Their blood shall flow for your glory.
 For you, too, is gathered the herbs of the field.
 Glory to thee, O living Sun !

* The sun.

† Manan ñoccacca recsimancha.

‡ Ricchacussan.

§ The moon.

|| *Coyllur* is a star.

¶ *Huacchatacca*.

Ollantay. I will speak to this gazer.
 O, mighty Prince ! O, Huillac Umu !
 The whole people know thy power,
 Receive then my praises.
Huillac Umu. O brave Ollantay ! thy speech awakens me
 From meditations on the bright Deity.

Ollantay then acquaints the Priest of his deep love for the Princess, and after firmly resisting the prudent councils of that dignitary, the Huillac Umu at length determines to try if a miracle will cure his love.

Huillac Umu. Bring me that flower.
 Behold that it is quite faded.
 Thus, though entirely dried up,
 It shall weep. Come here.
 [*Presses it and water flows out.*]
Ollantay. More easy would it be for water
 To spring from a dry rock,
 And not even for that
 Would I desert my love.

Accordingly, on occasion of one of the great ceremonies of the court, the young lover determined to seek the consent of the haughty Pachacutec, for a marriage with his daughter. He besought the Inca in moving terms for the hand of the beloved Cusi Coyllur ; but the stern monarch was inflexible ; the young general was sharply rebuked for his presumption, and the Inca with his train of courtiers passed away, leaving Ollantay overwhelmed with grief and disappointment.

The unfortunate Cusi Coyllur was also reproved by her father, and sent into confinement in the *Acella-huasi*, or convent of the Virgins of the Sun, where she was attended in her sorrow by her ever tender mother, the Coya Anavarqui, who in vain attempted to console her.

Here she gave utterance to the following touching lament. (See Appendix A.)

Cusi Coyllur. Ay Ñustallay! Ay Mamallay !
 • How can I fail to mourn,
 How can I fail to weep ?
 My father so dear to me,
 My guardian so beloved,
 In all these days and nights,
 In this my tender age,
 Has quite forgotten me,
 Without asking for me.
 Ay Mamallay ! Ay Ñustallay !
 Ah, my adored lover !

In the morning that I came here
 The day became dark ;
 The sun seemed obscure in the heavens,
 As if it were shrouded with ashes.
 The clouds of burning fire
 Announced my grief.
 The resplendent star Chasca *
 Spread out its rays.
 All the elements were weary,
 And the universe was tired.
 Ay Mamallay ! Ay Ñustallay !
 Ah, my adored lover ! †

In the meanwhile Ollantay was left on the solitary spot in the Cusipata, where a few minutes before a crowded throng of all the nobles of the land had witnessed one of the most imposing ceremonies of the Incarial court. "Alas, Princess ! alas, Cusi Coyllur ! my dove !" he exclaimed, "thou art lost to me for ever." Then the thoughts of rebellion and defiance began to stir themselves in his agitated breast, as he thus soliloquised :—

Ollantay. Ah, Cuzco ! ah, beautiful city !
 From this day to the end of time

* Venus.

† Ay huayllucciscay Cozallay !

Thou art filled with my enemies.
 Thy perverse bosom will I tear ;
 Thy heart will I give to the condors.
 Oh, enemy ! Oh, Inca, my enemy !
 Thousands of Antis will I entice ;
 I will pass my soldiers in review,
 And will distribute arrows.
 Lo ! where on the Sacsahuaman hill,
 My men are gathering like a cloud ;
 There shall they raise a flame,
 There shall you sleep in blood.
 You shall fall at my feet, O Inca !
 Then shall it be seen
 If my valleys shall be taken from me,
 If thy proud neck cannot bend.
 It is impossible that then, as now,
 You will say, " My daughter is not for you,
 For you this cannot be."
 You will not say this, when pensive and sad,
 You seek life on your knees before me.

Appearing amidst his army in Anti-suyu, Ollantay declared his wrongs in a nervous and eloquent speech ; and led by a general named Urco-huarancca, the troops rose in rebellion, and declared Ollantay Inca. Placing him in a *tiana*, or throne, they took off his *yacollo*, or mantle, and invested him with a royal robe ; the *llautu*, or fringe only worn by the reigning Inca, was placed around his brow, and with one accord the insurgents shouted,—

Honor to the Inca Ollantay !
 Honor to the Inca ! Honor to the Inca !
 Long may he live ! Long may he live !

While the great army of the Anti-Suyu, or eastern quarter of the empire, was breaking out in open rebellion under the impetuous Ollantay, a cruel fate overtook her for whom he risked his life and proved traitor to his sovereign.

A few months after the imprisonment of Cusi Coyllur, the illicit love between her and her adored Ollantay, produced a child—a girl who received the name of Yma Sumac (how beautiful).

The rage of the old Inca at this unmistakeable evidence of disobedience to his will knew no bounds. His daughter was cast into a dungeon beneath the Aclla-huasi, and all the prayers of her mother Anavarqui for a mitigation of the punishment were sternly refused.

Meanwhile the insurgent army advanced down the vale of Vilcamayu, and from Urubamba a defiant message was sent to his sovereign by his once devoted general.

Ollantay finally halted at a part of the valley well adapted for his purpose, where he commenced those gigantic buildings which remain to astonish future ages, and which have ever since been known by the name of Ollantay-tambo.

On arriving at this point in the drama, I bade farewell to Don Pablo Justiniani, the kind old priest and learned antiquary, and trotting once more across the Andes, proceeded down the vale of Vilcamayu, and arrived at Ollantay-tambo, about twenty miles from Urubamba, where I was hospitably received by the excellent Señora Artajona, and her daughter Rufina. The house, standing in the midst of fruit-gardens and fields of maize, was situated immediately beneath the extensive ruins, and the pleasant stone corridor looked out upon a charming view.

Here I was enabled to conclude my study of the

drama under able tuition, and while wandering amongst the buildings erected by its hero.

In this part of the vale of Vilcamayu the scenery is eminently picturesque; the valley itself is scarcely a league across, covered with fields of maize, with the broad and rapid river running through its centre; while on either side dark masses of mountains rise up almost perpendicularly, to such a height, that but a narrow portion of the azure vault smiles down upon the peaceful scene between them.

At the point fixed on by the insurgent chief Ollantay for the site of the fortress and city whose erection he contemplated, a ravine called Marca-cocha descends from the bleak pampas of the Cordillera to the vale of Vilcamayu, and at the point of junction two lofty masses of rock rise up abruptly in dark and frowning majesty.

Between these two mountains, at the entrance to the ravine of Marca-cocha, is the town of Ollantay-tambo, and on the eminence on the western side there still exist the remains of the fortress of Ollantay, the most astonishing monument of antiquity in Peru.

The rock itself is composed of a dark limestone, faced to the south and east with masonry. At a height of about 300 feet is a small plateau covered with ruins apparently left in an unfinished state. Remarkable for their enormous size, and the perfect accuracy with which they are cut, are six huge slabs of granite standing upright, and united by smaller pieces fitted between them: each block being full twelve feet in height. At their feet are other blocks of the same

material, in one place formed into the commencement of a wall, but all of amazing size, and at the same time most accurately shaped.

This spot appears to have been intended as the principal part of the citadel. Behind it, and built up the steep sides of the mountain, are numerous ruined buildings of small stones plastered over with a yellow mud, with gables at the ends, and apertures for doors and windows; and still further to the west a flanking wall of the same material rises up from the level plain to near the summit of the mountain, which is very steep, and indeed difficult of ascent, thus defending the fortress on that side.

On the east side of the position, and immediately below the principal ruins, are a succession of stone terraces, the upper one being approached by a handsome doorway with an enormous granite lintel. The wall of this terrace, which is built of polygonally shaped blocks fitting exactly into each other, contains recesses two feet high, and one foot deep, and when the inner sides are tapped with the finger, it produces a peculiar metallic ringing sound.

In front of these terraces, a succession of well constructed *andeneria*, sixteen feet deep, and faced with masonry, descend into the plain. Once they were covered with sweet creeping flowers, and sown with maize and quinoa, producing a lovely effect, and supplying the fortress with provisions, but now they are left to ruin, and overgrown with cactuses and heliotrope.

On the other side of these *andeneria*, which are still strikingly beautiful, the masses of rock rise up almost

perpendicularly to a dizzy point, on which is placed a huge block called the Ynti-huatana, or place for observing the sun.

The most wonderful part of these vast remains is the distance from which the stones that compose them have been conveyed. The huge blocks of granite of such wonderful dimensions, and yet so beautifully cut, are built on a steep hill composed of limestone, and the nearest granite quarry is at a distance of nearly two leagues, and at the other side of the river. From this point, which is high up the face of the mountain, these enormous quarters of rock, after they had been accurately cut, were conveyed down to the river, across it, and then along the banks to the foot of the fortress, a distance of nearly a league, where they were brought into their present position: yet by dint of untiring perseverance, and great engineering ability, this extraordinary labour was accomplished.

Our information is too limited to enable us to form any certain opinion as to the means used for the achievement of this gigantic enterprise; but there is yet sufficient left to give conjecture a strong appearance of probability.

The tools of the time of the Incas which have been discovered and analysed are usually of copper, with a certain per centage of tin or silica as hardening matter, but it is evident that these would have been quite insufficient to cut and shape such material as gneiss or granite.

The first rough shape may have been given by these instruments, but the planing and polishing was

probably effected by rubbing with other stones and with powder, and the finishing touches were given by means of an herb containing silica.

When however it is remembered that these huge blocks were cut into various angles, to receive the dovetailings of their neighbours with the most perfect accuracy, no mean notion will be entertained of the skill and ingenuity of the Incas.

When they were perfectly shaped, the stones had to be conveyed down the mountain to the banks of the Vilcamayu, probably by means of *sogas*, or huge cables of the twisted fibre of the maguey, passed round them, and manned by thousands of Indians.

The river then presents an almost insuperable obstacle, and it is far from easy to conceive how the stones could have been conveyed across it, at a point where it is twenty yards in width, very deep, and dashing along with furious rapidity. But the Incas, by some contrivance, overcame also this difficulty, and finally conveyed the granite blocks along the right bank, for two miles, to the fortress, placing them at length in their present positions.

On the road there are still two immense blocks that never reached their destination, which place the route traversed by the others beyond a doubt. They are well known as the famous *Saycusca-rumi-cuna*, or tired stones. The one nearest the fortress is nine feet eight inches long, seven feet eight inches broad, and four feet two inches deep. It is beautifully cut, and has a groove three inches deep round it, apparently for passing a rope. The other is twenty feet four inches in length,

fifteen feet two inches broad, and three feet six inches deep, like a huge beam.

Such is the present state of these wonderful ruins, giant efforts of a race of men whom no difficulties could daunt, and whose half-achieved ambition it seems to have been to turn the proud Andes themselves into mere terraced pleasure-gardens and eyrie-like fortresses.

At the foot of these Cyclopean works is a court surrounded by buildings, supposed to have been the palace of Ollantay.

The Mañay-racay, or court of petitions, as it was called, is sixty paces square, and is surrounded by buildings of gravel and plaster, each containing a lofty doorway near twelve feet high, surmounted by a huge stone lintel. Their interior consists of large chambers opening into each other.

The Mañay-racay is divided from the little town of Ollantay-tambo by a limpid stream, tributary of the Vilcamayu, which flows through the ravine of Marcacocha, and is crossed by the arch of a bridge.

Ollantay-tambo consists of a few streets leading to pleasant shady lanes, and a square lined with tall willows. Built as it is, of huge blocks of granite, the little town has an air of quiet and solemn antiquity.

On its eastern side, and opposite the fortress, is another mass of rock towering up to a lofty point—which, with the Ynti-huatana, form two giant portals to the regions of eternal snow—the mighty pinnacles of the cordilleras which rise up in the rear.

This western mountain is called the Pinculluna, or

“place of the flutes,” and half way up it, in an almost inaccessible position, are three buildings, which tradition says were used as a convent of Virgins of the Sun.

On one side of these buildings are three terraces about four yards broad, on which the doors of the convent opened, and they perhaps supplied its lonely inmates with food and flowers. From this point too they might view one of Nature’s loveliest scenes, the fertile valley with its tall trees, its noble river, and its mountain barriers fringed with cultivated terraces. Poor caged birds, perched up above the world, from which they were for ever secluded, but to which many of them would doubtless have gladly returned !

About a hundred yards beyond the convent, the Pinculluna becomes quite perpendicular, and forms a yawning precipice some 900 feet high, descending sheer into the valley—the Tarpeian rock of Ollantay. It was used as the *huarcuna*, or place of execution, and there is a small building like a martello tower on its verge, whence the victims were hurled into eternity.

But perhaps the most wonderful, if not the most interesting part of these stupendous remains, is a work which excited my astonishment more even than the great fortress, the palace of the Mañay-racay, or the convent of the Pinculluna. About half a mile up the ravine, on the west side, the cliff becomes steep, and the bare rock juts out in several places ; and here the indefatigable workmen have cut huge seats with canopies, broad steps up to them, and galleries connecting them, out of the solid rock. One is called the Ñustatiana, or throne of the princess ; and another the Inca-

misana, from its close resemblance to a modern altar.

Such were the works on which the rebel chief, Ollantay, was ceaselessly employed for about ten years, during which time he gradually collected an immense army of Anti and Tampa Indians. The aged Inca, Pachacutec, made few attempts to dislodge his rebellious subject, for he required ease and quiet after the toils and anxieties of a long and glorious reign. His son, too, the young Yupanqui, was many hundreds of miles away with the flower of the Incarial army, adding vast territories to the empire along the shores of the Pacific; and bringing into subjection the great King Chimu, whose power extended from the river Rimac almost to the bay of Guayaquil, and whose capital (now Truxillo) was so rich, that shortly after the Spanish conquest, 135,547 castellanos de oro were dug out of one huaca in its vicinity.

At length the aged Pachacutec died, after a reign of sixty years (A.D. 1340-1400), and Inca Yupanqui returned in triumph to Cuzco, where he was crowned with unusual pomp.

The sceptre of the Incas had now fallen into very different hands—into the firm and energetic grasp of one of the greatest warriors that the Children of the Sun had yet produced; and the youthful monarch at once began to assemble his veterans to crush the insolence of an insurgent who for ten years had dared to raise the standard of revolt within three days' march of the capital of the empire.

Such was the position of affairs at the opening of the

last act of the drama ; when a new character appears upon the stage. Rumi-ñauí, or he of the stony eye, the general of Colla-suyu, the southern quarter of the empire, was a man of a cold and unforgiving nature, who had long nourished an unrelenting hatred against Ollantay.

In one of the earlier scenes, there is a very characteristic dialogue between this worthy and the faithful servant of the rebel chief. Piqui Chaqui had gone secretly to Cuzco to collect news, and, accidentally meeting Rumi-ñauí in the street, displays some cleverness in evading his questions.

Rumi-ñauí. Whence, Piqui Chaqui, have you come ?

Do you seek an early death,
Joined with the traitor Ollantay ?

Piqui Chaqui. Being a native of Cuzco,
I have come to my home.
I no longer wish to remain
In yonder dull ravine.

Rumi-ñauí. How goes it with this Ollantay ?

Piqui Chaqui. I am spinning this heap of wool.

Rumi-ñauí. What heap ? what wool ?

Piqui Chaqui. Do you ask me ?

If you will give me that shirt, I will tell you.

Rumi-ñauí. I will give you a thick stick,
And shut you in the pillory.

Piqui Chaqui. O, don't frighten me so.

Rumi-ñauí. Then speak quickly.

Piqui Chaqui. But you will not listen.

I am turning blind ;
My ears are getting deaf ;
My grandmother is dead ;
And my mother is alone.

Rumi-ñauí. Where is Ollantay ? tell me !

Piqui Chaqui. My father is away from home,
And the paccays * are not ripe ;
I have a long walk to go to-day.

* A fruit.

Rumi-ñauí. If you vex me again,
I will cudgel your life out of you.
Piqui Chaqui. Ollantay? Oh, he is at work.
Ollantay? he is raising a wall,
To last for ever.

Unable to extract any very satisfactory information from the servant, Rumi-ñauí determined on a treacherous plan by which he hoped to betray Ollantay into the hands of the young Inca.

Cutting off one of his ears, and mutilating his face, he fled to the rebel camp, as if he wished only to escape from the cruelty of the Inca.* Ollantay appears to have been completely taken in, and received his former enemy with all the confidence of a generous and unsuspecting disposition.

The traitor's scheme succeeded but too well; while Ollantay and his army were engaged in the celebration of some great festival, he sent secret information to the Inca, who fell upon them with his veteran troops, took them completely by surprise, and Ollantay, Urco-Huaranca, and the other rebel chiefs, were led in triumph to Cuzco.

Meanwhile the unfortunate young Princess Cusi Coyllur had lingered for ten long years in the dungeon of the Aclla-huasi; while her lovely daughter Yma Sumac, unconscious of the existence of her mother, had been brought up in the same convent, under the care of a virgin named Pitu Salla, who was also her mother's gaoler.

One day the young Yma Sumac happened to follow

* Like the *Zartupou στρατηγῆμα* at Babylon.

Pitu Salla when she brought a cup of water, and a small covered vase containing food, to her captive mother. The door of the prison was opened, and by a natural instinct the mother and daughter recognised each other, and flew by an irresistible impulse into a fond embrace.

Then, when the Inca Yupanqui, having assembled the nobles of the court in the presence-chamber of his palace, was about to display his clemency by pardoning on certain slight conditions the rebel chief Ollantay, young Yma Sumac burst into the room, and in passionate strains of sorrow and persuasion, which are beautifully rendered in the original 'Quichua, besought the Inca to liberate his long-lost sister.

The last scene is very beautiful. Neither the Inca nor the unfortunate Ollantay are at first able to recognise in the worn and emaciated form before them the once beautiful Cusi Coyllur, the Joyful Star, the most lovely maiden of the court of the Inca Pachacutec. The first interview of the lovers, the recognition, the touching strains of affection, and the general pardon of all past offences granted by the generous Inca, form a scene which possesses most undoubted literary merit; and finally the Inca Yupanqui concludes the drama by exclaiming,—

Yupanqui. Now are they once more happy,
 They will rest in felicity.
 Now is his love in his arms,
 From henceforward they will enjoy life.

The meagre literal translations of a few of the passages in this curious drama can of course convey

but a very slight idea of the original, which abounds in peculiar phrases and expressions which entirely lose their point when translated into another language. The poetry and diction of many of the scenes in the Quichua, give a very high idea of the cultivation of literature among the ancient Peruvians; and this play, which alone has been handed down to our time, is a valuable relic of the literary talents of the court of the Incas, and a striking proof of the proficiency to which their poetic culture had reached.

While at Ollantay-tambo I received tidings of another ancient drama in the Quichua language which was said to repose, in manuscript, in the distant town of Paucar-tambo; the colony founded by Manco Ccapac on the eastern frontier of his empire.

Accordingly, I rode away in quest of this new literary curiosity, and after journeying up the vale of Vilcamayu for thirty miles, I turned to the left, and passing over forty miles of a wild and almost uninhabited mountain district, or *puna*, arrived in the little town of Paucar-tambo after a two days' ride.

Paucar-tambo, one of the most easterly towns in Peru, and only separated from the vast tropical forests of the interior by the last chain of the Andes, is a pleasant but melancholy and dilapidated place on the banks of a rapid river of the same name, which flows through a valley more narrow and less thickly inhabited than that of Vilcamayu, but equally picturesque, and equally covered with maize, farms, and fruit-gardens.

Here, after some inquiry, I discovered the Quichua

tragedy, of which I was in search, which is called "Usca Paucar," or the Loves of the Golden Flower (Ccori-ttica).

Containing many beautiful passages, evidently of great antiquity, it has been tampered with by the Spanish priests, in transferring it to writing from the mouths of the Indians; the plot has been mingled with Popish superstition in bad Quichua, and it is altogether devoid of that charm of originality which gives so much interest to the tragedy of Ollantay.

In the written drama of "Usca Paucar," a Virgin Mary and two Angels have been mixed by the Spanish transcribers amongst the Incarial original characters; and it has been formed into three *jornadas*, or acts, exactly on the plan of the "Autos Sacramentales" of Lope de Vega: intended, in this clumsy form, to serve as a religious mystery for the Indians.

There still remain, however, in songs and fine passages interspersed through the piece, the vestiges of its original form in the time of the Incas; and one of the songs, uttered by Usca Paucar, who is supposed to meditate suicide on account of his love for Ccori-ttica (the Golden Flower), the heroine of the drama, is rather striking.

To you, O wonderful earth !
O beautiful maiden !
To an earth without sorrows,
To you I will dedicate my song.

The fountains for you are the cradles
Of your youthful joy,
Although the cruel winter
Brings cold and rain.

But reconquering, you will spring forth
With a new and free song,
And then you will remember,
That before you were sterile.

Then you will not fear
Even the greatest dangers ;
The softest herbage
Will then envelope you.

Wishing to roll onwards,
The rivers will rob you of your tears,
Thus inundating your face,
Till they lose themselves in the sand.

But my tears, alas ! are torrents ;
With these you might satisfy yourself.
For the rains are thy sustainers ;
Go forth and allure them.

Even my sighs are lost,
When my heart is breaking,
And you look placidly on,
Waiting for my death.

How true is this idea of one meditating suicide, indignant at the fearful contrast between the calm and beautiful face of nature, and the unrestrained sorrows and stormy passions of his own untutored mind.

I procured another specimen of the Quichua love-songs of a less mournful nature than the preceding, from the mouth of a young Indian girl about twenty miles from Paucar-tambo.

At length, my dove ! I have returned
From far distant lands,
With my heart steeped in love :
O, my dove ! come to my arms.

When far away from you
My heart was not in me ;
Despairing, it returned to you :
O, my dove ! come to my arms.

If, believing that I am dead,
 You have given another your heart;
 Know now that I am yet alive :
 O, my dove ! come to my arms.

From the day that I left you,
 My heart was not in me ;
 Despairing, it returned to you :
 O, my dove ! come to my arms.

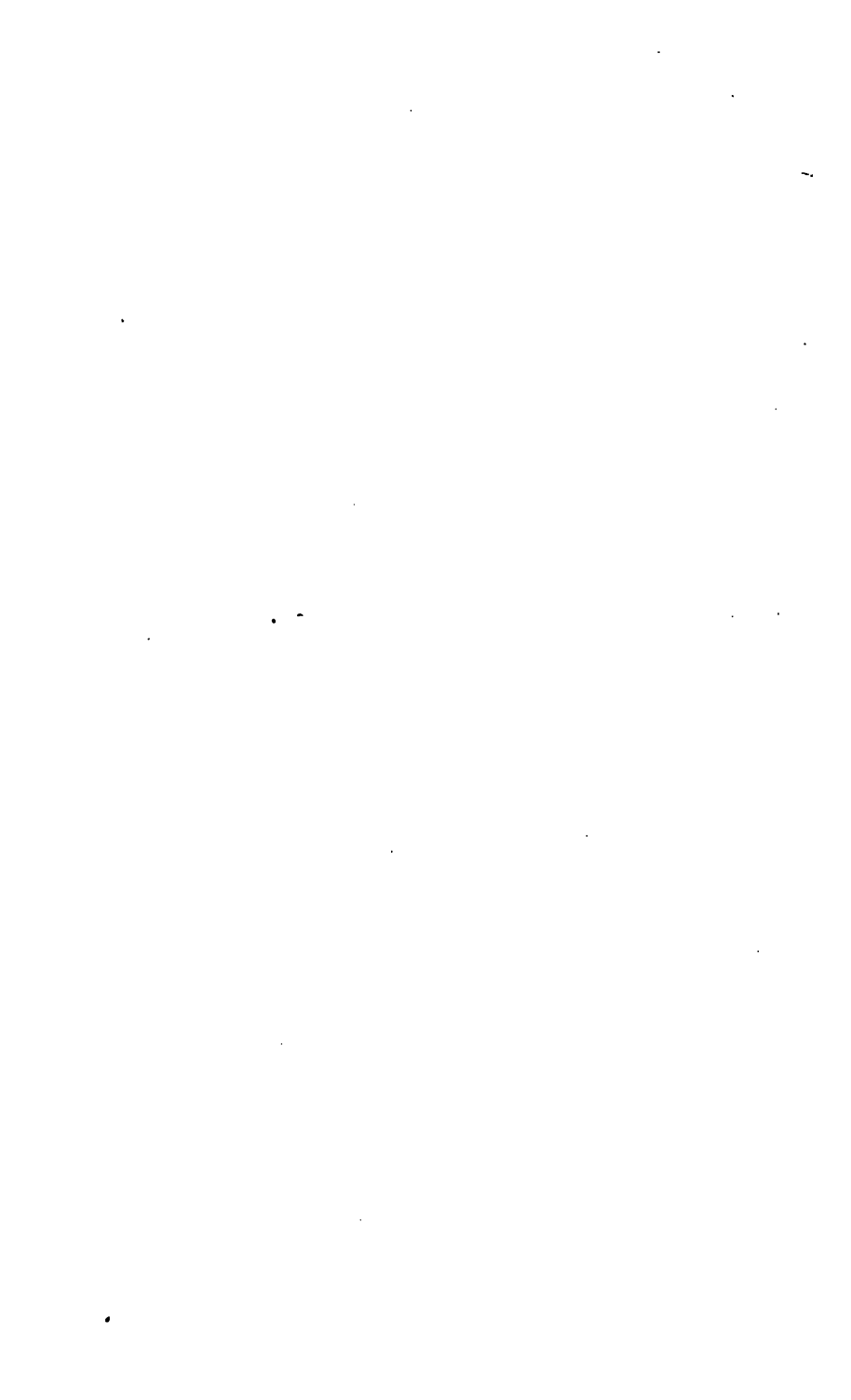
One of the songs, sung by a chorus of young girls in the drama of "Ollantay," and which is still chanted by the Indians on their long journeys, or when they carry the harvests from the fields, is also undoubtedly of great antiquity. It is addressed to the mischievous little *tuya*, a finch of a bright black and yellow plumage, whose ravages in the corn-fields are here deprecated. (See Appendix A.)

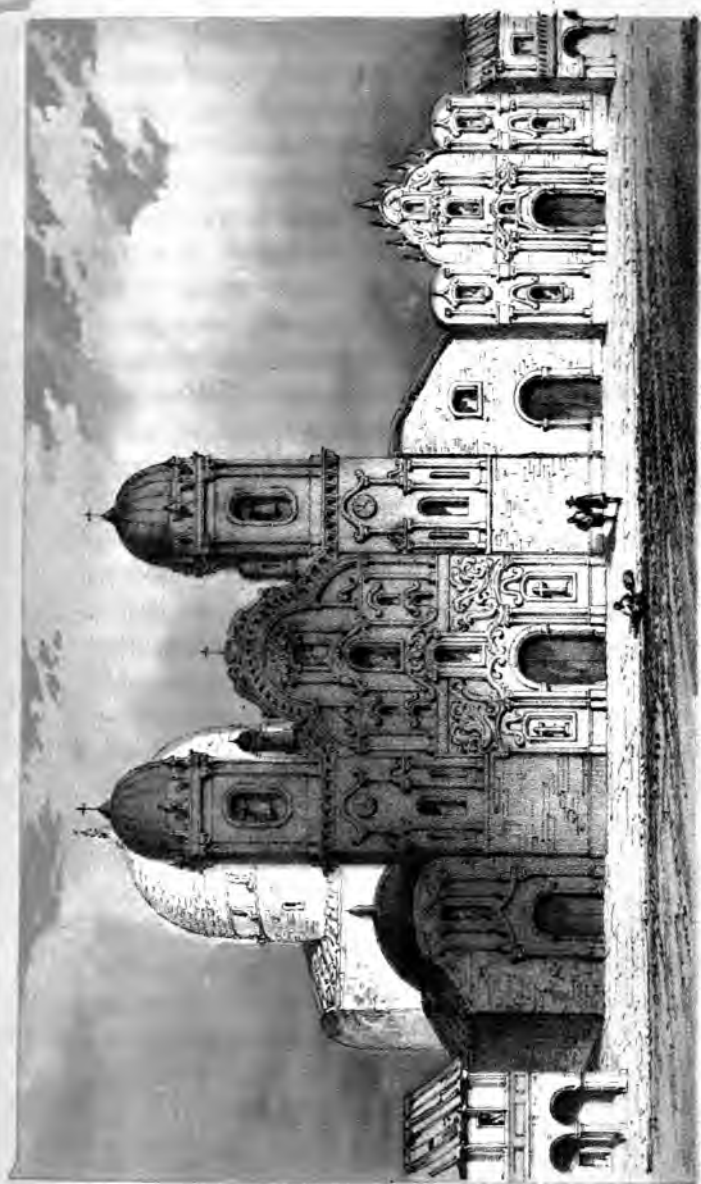
O, bird, forbear to eat
 The crops of my princess,
 Do not thus rob
 The maize which is her food.
 Tuyallay, Tuyallay.

The fruit is white,
 And the leaves are tender,
 As yet they are delicate ;
 I fear your perching on them.
 Tuyallay, Tuyallay.

Your wings shall be cut,
 Your nails shall be torn,
 And you shall be taken,
 And closely encaged.
 Tuyallay, Tuyallay.

This shall be done to you,
 When you eat a grain ;
 This shall be done to you,
 When a grain is lost.
 Tuyallay, Tuyallay.





Basílica de San Francisco, México, D.F.

Several other little songs of this kind, as well as the *yaravis*, and heroic poems, have been handed down by the Indians from the times of their ancient glory and liberty ; and it is not difficult to distinguish them from the more modern compositions, which date from periods subsequent to the Spanish conquest, and many of which are now wide-spread and popular.

When the Spaniards had established themselves in the land of the Incas, they found the Quichua language firmly engrafted in the minds not only of the Indians of Cuzco, but in those of the more distant provinces of the empire, where it had been but lately introduced ; and there were not a few of the followers of the first conquerors whose cultivated minds could appreciate its many beauties, and who studied to attain a knowledge of its literature from the highest motives.

The Dominican friars, however, who were the first body of men with any pretensions to education who arrived in Peru, headed by the cruel and bigoted Valverde, endeavoured rather to spread the religion of Christ by fire and sword, by tyranny and insolence, than by the nobler precepts of their pretended Master.

Then followed the kind-hearted and excellent Franciscans ; and, finally, the Jesuits were introduced by the Viceroy Castro, and their earnest and indefatigable labours are beyond all praise.

The Quichua language became the object of their study as a means of spreading the glad tidings of salvation by eloquence and persuasion ; catechisms, litanies, creeds, Ave Marias, and the Lord's Prayer,

were beautifully translated into the language of the Incas, and eventually most elaborate grammars of the Quichua appeared as the fruits of their meritorious industry.

It must be allowed, in justice to the Dominicans, that the first grammar and dictionary was published by a friar of that order at Valladolid in 1560.*

No less than nine other Quichua grammars and dictionaries have been published in Lima between the years 1586 and 1754, one of which passed through two, and another through four editions.†

The language, indeed, was studied with considerable zeal by the Jesuits and other early Christian missionaries, and in the university at Lima there was a professor's chair for the Quichua language, whose first occupier was Don Juan de Balboa, a Peruvian by birth.

Having mastered the language, the Jesuit missionaries proceeded to exert their eloquence in the pulpit, and their persuasive talents in the confessional and the study, for the great purpose of spreading the religion of Christ among the Inca Indians. Señor Palomino, in 1646, published a translation of one of the works of Cardinal Bellarmin in Quichua; and, in 1648, Dr.

* The author, Don Domingo de San Tomas, was the first doctor who graduated in the University of Lima. His portrait is preserved in the great hall of St. Mark.

† I was enabled to procure two of these : one, a grammar which is now very generally used in Peru, by a Jesuit named Diego Gonzales Holguin, being a new edition published in 1842, octavo, 320 pages ; the first one having appeared in 1607, and the second in 1614. The other, a grammar and vocabulary, by the Jesuit Diego de Torres Rubio, published at Lima in 1754, being the fourth edition. This latter contains also short catechisms and prayers in Quichua. The first edition appeared in 1603.

Avendaño printed several sermons, in which the traditions of the Incas are ridiculed, and an attempt is made to shame the Indians out of a belief in profane absurdities.

During the period of Spanish domination, when the wretched natives were driven like cattle to the mines and factories, and tyrannised over by a profligate priesthood, their popular songs assumed a mournful and despairing character.

Crushed and trampled upon by their oppressors, they wept for the happy days of the Incas, cursed their cruel fate, and anticipated a life of misery for the children they brought into the world. Hence the plaintive tones of the modern *yaravis* and love-songs, which almost bring tears to the eyes, as the breeze wafts them from some secluded hut to the ear of the passing traveller.

One of these, whose notes of despair are used by the young girlish-looking Indian mother as she lulls her infant to sleep in her lonely dwelling, on some wild spot in the recesses of the Andes, is known and sung as a lullaby in the department of Ayacucho.

My mother begot me, amidst rain and mist,
To weep like the rain, and be drifted like the clouds.
You are born in the cradle of sorrow,
Says my mother, as she gives me the breast.
She weeps as she wraps me around.
The rain and mists attacked me,
When I went to meet my lover.
Seeking through the whole world,
I should not meet my equal in misery.
Accursed be my birthday,
Accursed be the night I was born,
From this time, for ever and ever.

Another very popular *yaravi*, which the young girls sing as they journey along, with their hands busy spinning threads from a lump of wool or cotton, is of a like character. (See Appendix A.)

As is the apple of my eye, beloved one !
You are dear to her who loves you.

Mountains that divide the land ! take pity !
Make the road to turn, that I may find him.

Heart of my love ! The mighty rocks,
Stopping up the road, hinder me.

Flowing from village to village, the great river,
Increased by my tears, hinders me.

As is my eye, so are the waters of yon cloud,
They encompass me, as I wait for my love.

Lend me your wings, O falcon !
That, rising in the air, I may see a welcome sight.

When the rain falls, or the wind is high,
My love resting under the shade of a spreading tree.

Of this nature are most of the modern songs which prevail among the Indians ; telling, for the most part, of the woes of parted lovers, and the general misfortunes of an oppressed and conquered race. One of these cruel separations is celebrated in a Quichua poem, attributed to the pen of Dr. Lunarejo, a learned rector of the University of Cuzco, of Indian parentage, who flourished about a century ago. It is very long, but a few of the last verses will give an idea of the whole.

I shall not accomplish my destiny,
The fate which is intended for me,
Because before we are separated,
I shall fall dead at your feet.

Oh ! if our passions
 Were of equal vehemence,
 The grief of our separation,
 Would part us for ever.

To another, Heaven may dispense
 The fortune to please you ;
 But to one who knew how to love you,
 As I love you,—never.

When the sun rises in brilliancy,
 When it sets in gaudy lights ;
 When the moon and stars come forth,
 I shall ever be thinking of you.

Oh, do not, for a moment, deprive me,
 Of these enchanting thoughts.
 Adieu ! beloved one of my life,
 You will hear me mourning in the winds.

At the present day, the Quichua, with a more auspicious fate than has attended on the languages of most conquered nations, is spoken as generally and with almost as much purity as in the time of the Incas ; not only by the poor Indians, but by the descendants of Spaniards of every rank of society in the sierra. As their nurses are always Indian girls, Quichua is the first language they speak, while Spanish is learnt afterwards, and studied at school. At certain intervals a sermon is preached in Quichua, in the churches of the larger towns ; and in the villages the priests use no other language. The Indian bards, too, attend at the dinner and evening parties in the farms of their masters, and chant Quichuan melodies as accompaniments to the dance : and all classes seem attached to the old language of the Incas.

A style of composition has arisen from this attach-

ment of the upper classes in the Sierra to the Indian tongue, which will probably tend, more than any other cause, to the gradual deterioration of its purity. It consists in songs, which are now very common, of alternate lines of Quichua and Spanish. A very popular song of this class is founded on the following romantic story.

A young priest in the province of Aymaraes, near Cuzco, was desperately in love with a maiden of the same place. Unable to restrain his passion, he tore himself from her company and departed for Cuzco, to try if absence would drive her from his memory. Soon after his departure the poor girl, in climbing a steep path, missed her footing, and, falling down a precipice, was killed on the spot. She was buried in the little church of her native village, and shortly afterwards her priestly lover, unable longer to absent himself, returned to seek the presence of his adored one.

On hearing of the maiden's mournful death, he could no longer restrain his deep unchanging love; but rushing into the church, with sacrilegious hands he tore the corpse from its shroud, and embracing it tenderly as when living, broke forth into a wild impromptu song.

O mournful place ! approach and call me*
To your devouring caverns.
Come ! for I am your prisoner ;
Why do you restrain your hunger ?

* Manchay puytu hampuy ñihuay,
A tus cavernas voraces.
Accoyniqui caypin cani,
Paraque sebes tu hambre.

With reverence I embrace you,
 O queen, sunk into a corpse.
 The Dove that I loved so well,
 Behold ! in a dismal shroud.

O sight of sorrowing despair !
 Thy ghastly mortal wounds,
 Disfiguring that beauteous form,
 Make my very bones to creep.

Thy lovely ringlets of gold
 Are now betrothed to the winds ;
 Food for hideous worms
 Are thy once coral lips.

Thy breasts, white as snow,
 Were like cups of pure crystal ;
 Thy memory, like the endless desert,
 Is to me as an interminable wall.

Thy neck was as the white *amancaes*,*
 Where the snow is scattered ;
 Thy face resplendent as the *hirpu*,†
 Glowing with the colour from the *ychmu*.‡

All these that existed but yesterday
 Are now the sad trophies of time,
 And this thy beautiful form
 Is the triumph of the sepulchre.

The solitary night-owls
 Divining our grief,
 In the dead of night,
 Drone out funereal songs.

A cruel fatality arose,
 And seized my beloved one !
 Oh, return ! or take me,
 That all may end in death.

It is added that the request in the last verse was complied with, and that the unfortunate youth expired

* A lily.

† A beautifully transparent stone.

‡ The vermillion procured from quicksilver.

with the beloved but ghastly form of his mistress clasped in his arms.

It is agreeable to find that the beautiful language of the Incas has been zealously cultivated by the descendants of their conquerors; and that those once great and powerful princes have had their literature preserved, to some extent, by the very men who have despoiled and depopulated their native land.

It is sufficiently clear, that the ancient Peruvians raised their language by cultivating its many rich forms of speech, and its peculiar capacity for a high and poetic class of composition, to a position far above that obtained by any of the other languages or dialects of South America. Poetry, elegiac songs, and dramatic compositions were encouraged by the different enlightened potentates who filled, from time to time, the throne of the Incas; the laws and edicts were expressed in a concise but lofty and dignified style, and literary merit was always munificently rewarded.

Unfortunately, from the want of a written language, the greater part of the ancient Peruvian literature is lost to us for ever, a misfortune the more to be deplored as the old songs and dramas would have given us a far clearer insight into the previous history of the Incas, than can possibly be obtained from the Spanish Chronicles, or the vague traditions of the modern Indians; but enough is left to establish a claim for a place in the list of civilised nations, for the subjects of the once splendid empire of the Children of the Sun.

Following in its genius the fortunes of the Peruvian people, it swelled into songs of triumph, proud dramas

of the mighty deeds of the Incas, mingled with bright dashes of sprightly comedy, and merry love-ditties sounding on the four-stringed *tinya*, like the peals of a marriage-bell ; while freedom smiled on the pleasant valleys of the Andes, and patriarchal justice ruled the land of the Incas : but when dark clouds gathered round the ill-fated Indians ; when the Spaniards trampled out, with their iron heels, every spark of hope from their breasts ; when despair lowered round them ; then the Quichua language assumed its present form, and melancholy *yaravis*, whose plaintive strains would melt a heart of stone, now echo and re-echo through deep ravines and over the wide-spread valleys of the Sierra of Peru.

CHAPTER VII.

THE INCA INDIANS.

THEIR PAST AND PRESENT CONDITION.

THE first peopling of America has been a controverted question since its discovery ; and the origin of the various races inhabiting the vast continent of the New World, has puzzled the brains of the learned, and produced theories and counter-theories without end. In all probability, there is some truth in most of the propositions that have been started ; and if the veil could be raised which hides the past from our eyes, we should find that the aborigines of America came, some from Asia by way of the Isles of the Pacific, while others were wafted by the trade-winds from the Canaries and the Pillars of Hercules ; as we already know that, in a more northern direction, parties arrived from Norway and Iceland, as well as from Siberia and the land of the frozen Tundra.

Of the Indian people who formed the bulk of the population of the empire of the Incas, nothing beyond conjecture concerning their origin can ever be known —possessing, as they do, some characteristics of the Mongol, others of the ancient Egyptian, and many peculiarly their own.

The Inca Indians are of short stature, averaging from five feet six to five feet ten inches, with well-knit muscular frames, of slender make, and capable of enduring great fatigue. Their complexions are of a fresh olive colour, with fine aquiline noses, and handsome features. Their hair straight and black.

The women are frequently very beautiful, with lovely sylphlike figures, especially when very young, and dark, expressive eyes. Under the rule of the Incas these people passed a life of ease, plenty, and contentment, which, though perhaps approaching too nearly to the listless dependence of the slave, was still far removed from a condition that can be considered degrading, and was eminently adapted to promote their happiness and well-being.

They were divided into *ayllus* or tribes of ten, a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, each under a particular officer, and the whole under the orders of the Inca governor of the province. Their temporal wants, under this system, were carefully attended to; at a certain age, when marriages were contracted, a piece of land called a *topu* was portioned out to the young couple, where their hut was built, and their little garden of vegetables cultivated; and, as each successive child appeared, another *topu* was added to the parental land.

All the land of the empire was divided into three parts, one pertaining to the Sun, another to the Inca, and another to the people; and the two former were cheerfully attended to, including those of absent soldiers, the widow, and the aged, before the happy Indian turned his attention to his own land.

The tribute consisted entirely of personal service, and, when the Indian had devoted the allotted portion of his time, either in tilling the ground, weaving cloth, or working and manufacturing vases, or instruments of war, he was freed from all other taxes, and occupied himself for the remainder of the week for his own and his family's good.

The Peruvians were far advanced in the science of husbandry ; manure of several kinds was used to improve the land, and extensive crops of maize, quinoa, coca, and cotton were raised in various parts of the empire.

The llamas, vicuñas, and alpacas were also tended with great care on the broad plains of the Andes ; their wool was used for making cloth ; and, at stated periods, a grand *chacu*, or hunt, was enjoyed by the Inca and his court, when some of the captured animals were shorn, and others were secured for sacrifice or killed for food.

The mining operations of the Incas were simple, though at the same time an immense amount of the precious metal was procured. The veins of silver were seldom followed to any great distance ; and the ores were placed in long ovens made of clay, in which the furnaces were quickened by the wind, and masses of silver were thus procured, and again smelted in the huts of the Indians. Gold was collected from the washings of the rivers.

In these pursuits, and in the higher arts of architecture and manufacture, the time of the Indians was passed. Happy and contented, their simple wants

amply supplied, and their comfort and even amusement provided for by a paternal government, they knew no sorrow, and cultivated many social virtues. Crime, which was of rare occurrence, was promptly and severely punished, and the edicts of the Inca were promulgated in a concise style befitting the subject.

- I. Ama quellanquichu . . Thou shalt not be idle.
- II. Ama llullanquichu . . Thou shalt not lie.
- III. Ama suanquichu . . Thou shalt not steal.
- IV. Ama huachocchucanqui. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- V. Ama huañu chinquichu. Thou shalt not kill.

Their condition was indeed happy, and in many respects enviable. Though debarred from the thorny paths of ambition, and unable to adopt a career of adventure or of self-seeking, which in more civilised countries leads some men to glory, and many more to perdition, they were, in their own simple way, enabled to enjoy the bounties of an all-wise Providence with contented minds. They experienced all the blessings attendant on domestic ties, and the incalculable delight of contemplating the glorious scenery and heavenly skies which surrounded them; and which, through their popular songs and ballads, we know that they fully appreciated.

For centuries had this truly favoured people enjoyed the blessings of the patriarchal government of the Incas; when, by one of those mysterious dispensations by which wide sections of the human race are periodically visited, a fell torrent of cruel invaders, with more than the usual barbarity of the savage, added to all the power of the civilised man, swept over the land and consigned a whole people to misery and despair.

The Spaniards treated the conquered race as beasts of burden, and revelled in the wantonness of their atrocities. Thousands were dragged off to the mines to satisfy the quenchless thirst of their conquerors for gold; others were hunted down with blood-hounds; the flocks of llamas and alpacas were wantonly destroyed, the land was untilled, and the great public works of the Incas left to ruin.

The Indians of the table-lands of Peru, being an agricultural and settled people, were completely subdued; but the wild inhabitants of the Montañas remained independent; and the Araucanians, a race of Southern Chil , on the frontier of the empire of the Incas, hurled back the tide of Spanish conquest for ever from their land.

The heroic struggle of this extraordinary people is one of the most interesting and romantic episodes in history. Dwelling on the strip of land in Southern Chil , between the Andes and the Pacific, they were divided into several tribes, each governed by an hereditary ruler, and, in time of war, uniting together, a dictator called the Toqui was elected by the assembled chieftains.

When Pedro de Valdivia, leaving the still half-conquered Peru, had established a Spanish colony in Chil , he first met with resistance in his victorious career from the Araucanian Indians on the banks of the river Bio-bio.

Armed only with clubs and spears, and seldom assembling a force of more than five or six thousand men, they boldly and fearlessly encountered the Spanish

soldiers provided with musketry, artillery, and cavalry. As their ranks were thinned by the deadly and incomprehensible fire, they were instantly filled up ; and their usual expedient was to close and fight hand to hand with their antagonists.

When Valdivia first attacked them in 1552, a grand assembly of chieftains met to arrange measures for the defence of their independence.* Foremost amongst his peers was the aged Colocolo, subtle in council ; Capaulican, the future hero of the war ; Tucapel, the hater of Christians ; Elicura, as strong as he was valiant ; the giant Cayocupil, leader of the mountaineers, and many others. In this assembly the brave Capaulican was elected Toqui, or general of the army, which he led in many a fierce encounter against the serried ranks of Spain. At length a great battle was fought near the town of Concepcion ; the Araucanians stood their ground with desperate valour ; but the superior discipline of the Europeans was on the point of gaining the day, when a young prisoner, in the service of Valdivia, named Lautaro, went over to his countrymen, rallied them by his example, and eventually the Araucanians gained a complete victory. Valdivia would have been spared by the generous Capaulican, had not the hot-headed old chieftain Leucaton dealt him a blow from behind which laid the enemy of his people lifeless at his feet.

For years this heroic war continued with doubtful success : Lautaro was slain in battle ; Capaulican, taken

* For the wars of the Spaniards and Araucanians, see Ercilla's *Araucana* ; Gaye's *Historia de Chil *, 5 vols.—Paris, 1844 ; Ovalle's *Chile*, &c., &c.

prisoner, was put to a horrible death by the Spaniards; but still the Araucanians continued the struggle. Single combats between the generals of each army would sometimes decide a battle; passages of arms, and adventures of a most romantic kind, were of daily occurrence; and no decisive advantage was gained on either side.

In 1597 the Toqui Paillamachu took the strong town of Valdivia; and, falling on the Spanish army, surprised and put the Captain-General, Don Martin Loyola,* to death; and, about the same period, an Indian heroine named Janequeo, in revenge for the death of her husband, led an army against the Spanish settlements.

Thus a succession of desultory wars succeeded each other for more than two centuries, until, in 1773, a peace was finally concluded at Santiago, by which the independence of the Araucanian Indians was acknowledged by the Spaniards.

No other example is to be found in history of a body of untutored Indians, comparatively unarmed and undisciplined, successfully stemming the advance of civilised aggression; and, after a fierce contest for life and liberty of two hundred years' duration, coming forth victorious from the combat.

Their deeds of heroism and valour have been deservedly immortalised by the epic poem of Ercilla; and the Araucanians, whose love of liberty was inextinguishable, have extracted praise and admiration from the warlike muse of their poetical antagonist.

* A nephew of Ignatius Loyola, and the same cavalier who married an Inca princess.

Far different was the fate of the **unfortunate** inhabitants of Peru, who, unable to resist the tyranny of Europeans, were dragged into slavery and bondage.

It is true that there were some men, such as Las Casas, the good bishop of Chiapas, who lifted up their voices against the atrocities of their countrymen, and some humane edicts were issued by the home government, which were enforced with a show of zeal on their first promulgation ; but they soon became a dead letter, and led to no real melioration of the condition of the Indians.

Shortly after the conquest an order was issued against the use of these unhappy people as beasts of burden ; and, on one occasion at least, the law was vigorously put into force.

It was at the time of the invasion of Tucuman, when the Spanish soldiers were using the Indians to carry their baggage, as they marched from the city of Potosi ; that the judge, a man named Esquivel, determined to make an example of one of these infringers of the law.

Accordingly a Spaniard, named Aguirre, was seized upon for forcing two Indians to carry his baggage, and thrown into prison. He was sentenced to be stripped naked, tied upon a donkey, and whipped through the town. The remonstrances of his friends, his own prayers, and the representations of the clergy, were of no avail ; no mitigation of his sentence could be procured, and he publicly underwent a punishment which to him was worse than death.

A fierce thirst for vengeance took possession of the proud Spaniard's mind, for blood alone could wipe out

the blot upon his escutcheon. He patiently waited till the period of the judge's office had expired, and then eagerly watched his opportunity. Terrified at the undying hatred of his victim, Esquivel fled to Lima; but he had not been there many days when again the haggard face and fierce untiring gaze of Aguirre met him at every turn. From thence he fled to Quito, and thence to Cuzco, but all was of no avail; the avenger followed at his heels, and on no point could he turn his eyes without meeting the vengeful glance of the dishonoured Spaniard.

Tired out at length, and filled with a dread of his coming fate, the wretched Esquivel determined to remain in Cuzco, and wearing a coat of mail, he trusted to the vigilance of his servants for escape from Aguirre's vengeance.

One day at high noon the assassin coolly entered the house of his victim, and finding him asleep, plunged a dagger into his head. For many days he remained concealed from the vigilance of the police, and eventually effected his escape from the jurisdiction of Cuzco.

This ferocious deed was applauded by the wild spirits whose lawless acts would have deserved a similar punishment, and such feelings of course rendered the administration of justice more difficult to the authorities.

Thus the melioration of the condition of the poor Indians was but a name, and the horrible tyranny that was exercised over them during the whole period of Spanish domination, from 1535 to 1824, is truly revolting.

The most terrible engine of cruelty was a law by which each village had to supply a certain number of labourers to work on the estates, or in the mines of their oppressors for one year. This compulsory servitude was called the *mita*, and its provisions extended over every part of Peru, excepting the coast, where negro slaves were employed.

The *mita* was instituted by the Viceroy Toledo, at the instigation of Loaysa, archbishop of Lima; and being abolished by the Count de Lemos, was reinforced by the Duke de Palata in 1682, by the advice of Melchor de Liñan, bishop of Potosi. Thus the ministers of the gospel were the constant promoters of this iniquitous measure.

The victims of this law were called *mitayos*, and worked either in the mines, the arable farms, the cattle and sheep farms, or the weaving manufactories.

The mines were the most fearful places of slavery. Worked far beyond their strength, half-starved, and excluded from the light of day, the poor Indians sank under the accumulated miseries of their position, and died off by hundreds. It is a horrible fact that the population of Peru, exclusive of Spaniards, was reduced between the time of the Incas and the year 1796, by 5,000,000 of souls.

In the arable farms the *mitayo* made from fourteen to eighteen dollars a year; and from this wretched pittance the remorseless Spaniards took eight as a tribute, or capitation-tax. Of the ten that were left, two were necessarily expended in buying three yards of coarse cloth to cover his nakedness, and there

remained but seven dollars, or twenty-eight shillings, to feed and maintain his wife and children.

But this was not all. The maize, almost his only article of food, was sold to him at double its real value; and if any of his family died, he had to pay the priest for masses, so that he was eventually forced into debt to his master, becoming a slave until it could be paid; and dying he left his sons to inherit an ever-increasing claim, or virtually to a life of hopeless slavery.*

In the sheep and cattle farms the poor Indians perhaps enjoyed more liberty and happiness than in any of the other forms of their slavery. For tending a thousand head of sheep or alpacas, the shepherd received \$18 a year, minus \$8 tribute, leaving \$10 to keep himself, his wife, children, and dogs. He lived far away on the vast grassy *punas* of the Andes; and seldom seeing a stranger, his lot was enviable compared with that of his fellow-countrymen. Such was the fear in which the poor little children of the Indian shepherds held the Spaniards, that at the very sight of a distant horseman they ran off and hid in some inaccessible place.

The most terrible form of slavery, however, was the forced labour in the *obrages*, or factories for weaving cotton, and cloth fabrics from the llama and alpaca

* When there was a bad harvest, the Spaniards raised the price of corn, without raising the wages of their *mitayos*, and thus left them to perish of hunger. This was done at Quito in 1743-4. When a beast died the Indians were forced to buy it, although perhaps in a state of putridity, and if they refused they were flogged.—*Not. Sec.* p. 271.

wool. The work commenced before daylight, when the *mitayos* were locked up. At noon they were fed ; then the work continued till dark, when the superintendent entered, and those who had not finished their work were cruelly beaten. The poor Indians in these *obrages* were fed so horribly, and flogged so brutally, that they soon died ; yet, to aggravate their sufferings, the masters frequently dropped the sparks from burning tinder, kindled for the purpose, upon their naked flesh.

The provinces of the interior of Peru were governed under the Spanish system by a *corregidor*, who held office for a term of five years. These officials paid two yearly visits of inspection to every village in their respective provinces ; and all Indians, from the age of eighteen to fifty-five, were compelled to pay the capitation-tax already alluded to ; and the greedy ruffians often extorted it from poor lads under the age, whose only mode of rescue from savage beating was in the assistance their fathers and brothers could render them ; an assistance which, of course, weighed heavily, as an additional burden, on their already overtaxed strength.

At the expiration of the *corregidor's* office, an official called a "*Juez de Residencia* " was sent by the Viceroy to receive an account of his government. This judge had his expenses paid for two months, and, besides this, he received bribes from the *corregidor* to overlook all offences. This was so openly done, that at Lima it was currently said, "Such and such a province will be worth so much to the Judge."

But the Spaniards, who certainly deserve some credit for their ingenuity in the art of tormenting, invented another mode of screwing yet more out of the miserable pittance of the Indians.

This was done by means of the *repartimientos*, an institution nominally intended to supply the Indians with European goods at a cheap rate. The *repartimientos* consisted of mules, European and home goods, and fruits. The corregidor procured the goods from Lima, and divided them among the Indians at his own prices. Mules which he procured at from \$14 to \$16 were sold at from \$40 to \$44. But the outrageous prices of the *repartimientos* were not their only tyranny; their utter uselessness made the rascality of the proceeding almost incredible.

A yard of velvet was forced upon a poor labourer for \$50; silk stockings for a bare-footed girl; and on one occasion a large assortment of spectacles having been purchased by a corregidor, he made a law that no one should appear in church without this addition to his dress, and thus forced these useless incumbrances on the keen-sighted peasants of the Andes.

In vain the Indians remonstrated against the prices, declared that the articles were useless to them, implored that their hard earnings might not be torn from them,—all was to no effect; and non-payment was punished by flogging and obligatory labour. By these *repartimientos*, the corregidores realised from \$5000 to \$7000 annually, and frequently more.

Superadded to all other acts of tyranny, the Indians had to suffer, besides the *mita*, the *repartimiento*, and

the tribute, the shameless extortions of the ministers of religion.

The only instruction the priests gave the Indians, was to drawl over the *doctrina* after mass on Sundays, while the people had to provide food for feasts in commemoration of saints, and offerings for the priests on Sundays.* Their fees were also enormous, and when an Indian died, the priest refused to bury him until this was paid; if the family were unable to collect the money, he seized their goods, and if that did not make it up, the Indian was not buried.

Both the secular and regular clergy frequently led immoral lives: but the latter were by far the worst, and ill-fared the unfortunate village which came under the charge of a monk. Every opportunity was taken to extort money from the poor people, and they had to labour in the fields of his reverence on Sundays and holy-days; while his concubine forced the girls of the village to work for her, and robbed them of their eggs and chickens on pretence of offerings to the priest.

In speaking of the clergy of this period, in Peru, an honourable exception must be made in favour of the Jesuits, who, for the most part, were earnest men, leading decent lives, and attending to the moral and physical wants of their flocks. They were all expelled however, in 1767, "for causes," says the decree, "reserved in the royal mind." On the day fixed, armed troops were stationed round their colleges at Lima,

* One priest actually extorted 200 sheep, 6000 fowls, and 50,000 eggs in one year.

Cuzco, Arequipa, and other towns; and at two in the morning the doors were forced, their money and goods seized, and the holy fathers were hurried to the coast in a state of destitution, and banished from the land.

Crushed as the Indians were by their remorseless oppressors, they still mourned over their fallen state, and kept up the memory of their former greatness by many observances endeared to them by the associations of the past. But with the Spaniards, these symptoms of higher feelings, on the part of their victims, only added to their craving avarice, and they believed that vast treasures were still buried in places only known to the Indians. They remembered the tales of the boundless riches of the Incas, their appetites were occasionally whetted by the discovery of a few golden ornaments in ancient burial-places, and they tortured the unfortunate Indians to force them to divulge the position of the supposed riches. Where, they asked, were the golden vases of the temples of the Sun? Where the huge golden chain made to commemorate the birth of Inca Huascar?

A case in point happened about a hundred years ago in the province of Lampa, near Puno. One day, a poor Indian stopped at a little wayside *tambo*, and not having sufficient money to pay for his purchases, he gave to the hostess a number of ancient golden figures as pledges, to be reclaimed on his return; exacting, at the same time, a promise that she would show them to no living soul. The old lady, however, some time afterwards, being in want of money, gave them, in her turn, as pledges to the priest of the village.

Months passed away, and eventually the Indian returned to claim his golden ornaments. The hostess went immediately to the priest, who believing that they must have been taken from some vast hidden store, insisted upon her divulging to whom they really belonged, and the Indian was thrown into prison.

After having been cruelly flogged and tortured, he at last confessed that an enormous treasure was buried by the Inca nobles on the arrival of the Spaniards, under a rock whose position he indicated, but added, that if they dug to a certain depth, a jet of water would spring up and flood the valley.

Accordingly the priest, assisted by a friend named Don Pedro Aranibar, of Arequipa, and others, commenced the excavation, and were rewarded by the discovery of gold to the value of 2,500,000 dollars. The position of these excavations, now called Mananchili, is at the present day covered by a lake with a small island in the centre.

Such were the various modes by which the Spaniards gradually debased the character of the once noble subjects of the Incas. But it must not be supposed that even centuries of treatment, the bare recital of which makes the blood of every generous man boil with indignation, could entirely change their character from that of a brave and loyal people to the condition of utterly degraded slaves. From the nature of the country, and the entire dependence on central authority in which they had formerly lived, the Indians, at the time of the conquest, were wholly unfitted for any organised combination, and were thus easily subdued.

But in the school of misfortune the art of secret union was learned, and in the latter part of the last century an insurrection broke out simultaneously in almost every part of the interior of Peru.

At this time the cruelty and extortion of the Spanish governors had arrived at such a height, that the naturally mild and enduring Indians were driven to desperation ; and a master mind was not long wanting to quicken the sparks of rebellion into a flame.

The last patriot of Peru appeared in the person of a young Indian named José Gabriel Condorcanqui, who is said to have been descended from Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, who perished on the scaffold in 1571 by order of the viceroy Toledo.

He was educated at the Jesuit college of San Borja at Cuzco, and subsequently retired to his native village of Tungasaca, which is situated on the banks of a large lake, on one of the lofty *punas* of the Andes, about a hundred miles south of Cuzco. Of a tall and handsome presence, with a fearless and vehement temper, moderate talent, and little experience or knowledge of the world, he brooded over the calamities of his native land, and beheld with indignation the treatment of his unfortunate countrymen.

At this time, the better-conditioned among the Spaniards themselves were scandalised at the extortion and cruelty around them ; and Don Manuel Arroyo, the bishop of Cuzco, was among the first who raised a cry against the tyranny of the corregidores. One of his fellow-philanthropists, Don Ventura Santilices, was deputed to Spain, to intercede at the foot of the throne

for the poor Indians, but he died a few months after his arrival ; and Don Blas, the uncle of Condorcanqui, who went to Madrid on a similar errand, was poisoned.

Meanwhile the shameless excesses of the corregidors of some of the inland provinces had reached to such a point, that longer endurance became impossible. The corregidor of Tinta, Don Antonio Aliaga, a man inaccessible to any higher feeling than avarice, actually enforced three repartimientos in one year, each of them yielding a profit of 10,000 dollars. The young Condorcanqui beheld the exactions of Aliaga with ill-suppressed indignation. At length the long pent up flames of the volcano burst forth with irresistible fury, and as one man the whole Indian population, from Cuzco to the frontiers of Tucuman, rose against their oppressors.

It was on the 10th of November, 1780, that Condorcanqui raised the standard of revolt, and his first act was to hang the cruel miscreant Aliaga, in the square of the little town of Surimani.

The leader of the rebellion now conceived the magnificent idea of restoring the empire of the Incas. He assumed the name of Inca Tupac Amaru, surrounded himself with all the insignia of royalty, and proclaimed the misrule of the viceroy Don Agustin Jauregui to be at an end.

Thousands of Indians from all parts of the country flocked to his standard, and at Asangaro a Spanish force that had been sent against him was entirely defeated.

With a numerous but ill-disciplined force Tupac

Amaru then besieged the city of Cuzco : the Dean of the cathedral led forth the citizens and soldiers against him ; and a bloody but indecisive battle induced the Inca to fall back upon Tinta, with the remainder of his forces. At the same time he had detached a considerable force to attack Puno, under an Indian chief named Anca ; but in a battle under the heights of Mananchili, the Spaniards defeated him in detail, though the Indians fought with desperate but ill-disciplined valour, and eventually retreated to join the main body at Tinta.

Simultaneously with this outbreak, two caciques of Chayanta, in Upper Peru, named Tomas and Nicolas Catari, rose in rebellion, overran the whole country, slaughtered the Spaniards in many of the smaller towns, and laid siege to the city of La Paz.

On the death of Tomas Catari, an Indian named Apasa assumed his name with the command of the insurgents before La Paz, and commenced a regular siege. To a character firm and daring, he united cruelty, vanity, and a love of magnificence ; and he adopted a style and manner in keeping with his character as Viceroy of the Inca.

Don Sebastian de Seguro, the governor of La Paz, made several attacks upon his position, but was as often repulsed with loss ; and during the siege, the following letter was received by the Bishop of the city, from the Inca Tupac Amaru : *

* There is an interesting account of this siege of La Paz in Temple's *Travels in Peru*. 2 vols. London, 1830.

"MOST REVEREND FATHER,—

"Considering the severe yoke which weighs us down, the innumerable imposts levied upon us, and the tyranny of the collecting officers, I have determined to shake off the insupportable bondage, and to put a check to bad government. For this reason the Corregidor of Tinta publicly died, in spite of a body of Spanish soldiers who came from Cuzco to rescue him, but who paid with their lives for their audacity. My only intention is to terminate the bad government of the robbers who plunder our hives.

(Signed) TUPAC AMARU.

"March 29th, 1781."

The Court of Madrid was by this time thoroughly alarmed, and the Prime Minister, Florida Blanca, trembled at the loss of one of the richest dependencies of the court of Spain.

Troops were ordered up from Buenos Ayres and Lima, and soon the Spanish Brigadier General Don José del Valle, found himself at the head of 17,000 disciplined soldiers. A lawyer named José Antonio Areche was associated with him under the title of *Visitador Regio*, to try the prisoners; a wretch by the side of whom the infamous Jeffreys was an angel of mercy.

Having forced the insurgents to raise the siege of La Paz, Valle marched towards Cuzco, and encountered the army of Tupac Amaru near the village of Tungasaca.

The Inca formed his army of about 10,000 men on a bleak plain near the banks of the lake; and, wrought


up by every feeling that could add vigour and enthusiasm to a holy cause, the battle long remained doubtful. In the heat of the action, however, a division of Spaniards turned one of the flanks of the patriot host, and rushing upon them with impetuosity, the last hope of liberation was extinguished.

Tupac Amaru, his wife and children, were taken prisoners, and conducted to Cuzco, where their conquerors perpetrated an act of cruelty which crowned the infamy of their domination over Peru.

The unhappy chieftain was dragged into the great square of Cuzco, where he beheld his wife and children put to death; his tongue was then pulled out by the roots, and finally he was torn to pieces by young horses.

"It does not appear," says the Editor of the *Noticias Secretas*, "that if the judges of this cause had examined the Asiatic and African modes of capital punishment, they could have more entirely united the cruelty of both in the death of this ill-fated American—the disgraced descendant of the Incas."

The inhuman atrocities of the Spaniards, far from terrifying the Indians into submission, only added fresh fury to their resistance, and soon an army of 14,000 men was collected under the command of Andres Tupac Amaru, a nephew of the late Inca. Though a youth of not more than eighteen years, he was possessed of determination above his age, and displayed many of the qualities of an experienced leader. In April he besieged the town of Sorata, on the east side of the lake of Titicaca, and having



dammed up a river by means of earth-mounds, he directed the water down a steep ravine against the walls and defences of the town, which were swept away, and opened a practicable breach for the besieging force. Sorata was taken by storm, and every Spaniard was put to the sword by the now infuriated Indians.

Andres next attacked La Paz, and forwarded a proclamation to the town, in which he sets forth the tyranny of the Spaniards, and the impossibility of obtaining any redress by fair and peaceful means.

"Don Ventura de Santilices," he says, "submitted to Charles III. at Madrid the exorbitant excises, the frequent taxations, the usurious transactions of Europeans, and the excessive labour and destruction of life in the cruel *mita*; but Ventura was poisoned.

"Notwithstanding so perverse a deed, my relative Don Blas proceeded to Spain, and there supplied ample evidence of the evils above cited; but he was murdered on his return to America.

"(Signed) ANDRES TUPAC AMARU.

"Aug. 27, 1781."

Meanwhile his uncle Diego attacked the city of Puno, for four days fought the Spaniards with heroic valour, and only retired on the approach of the royal army of vastly superior force. Always in front of the last squadron of retreat, this Inca chief immortalised his name in the glorious encounters of Condorcuyo and Puquina, fields covered with Spanish dead. The government at Lima, recovered from their surprise, had now concentrated the whole of their disciplined

forces to crush the patriotic but unwieldy and ill-arranged insurrection of the Incas, and eventually young Andres Tupac Amaru, succumbing to fearful odds, was forced to capitulate at Sicuani, in March, 1782.*

Nevertheless, in the mountain fastnesses of Amutara, the remains of the Incarial army, the expiring hope of Peru, held out still against the Spanish generals, Velasco and Resequin, and in vain the whole force of the government was directed against them. Despairing of success, they chose to die rather than return to slavery; and when, betrayed by a traitor named Ana Guampa, the chief with his devoted band was overwhelmed, they fell to a man, sword in hand, in the ravine of Kucumarini, the grave of the insurrection of the descendants of the Incas, 6th July, 1782.

Thus, in a terrible war of extermination, which well-nigh restored freedom to the unfortunate Peruvians, their oppressors in some degree expiated the cruel tyranny of their government, and the Manes of Tupac Amaru were avenged.

They learnt, too, to respect the valour and determination of the conquered race; and, as one result of the rebellion, the gross abuses of the *repartimiento* system were abolished.

Soon, however, a more universal feeling of discontent, displaying itself not only among the Indians, but also among the great body of the inhabitants of Spanish descent born in Peru, began to threaten the rule of the grasping adventurers from the mother country.

* To Don Ramon Arias, governor of Arequipa.

Every office, civil, ecclesiastical, or military, with very few exceptions, was filled by needy courtiers from Spain, who assumed an insolent superiority over the creoles, or descendants of Europeans born in Peru, and excited a deep feeling of hatred and indignation in their breasts.

This was not long in showing itself, and, early in the morning of August 4th, 1814, another rebellion broke out at Cuzco, headed, it is true, by an Indian chief, but actively supported by many influential Creoles, a source of strength which was wanting in the preceding attempt of the Inca Tupac Amaru.

The name of the Indian chief who assumed the lead in this insurrection was Mateo Garcia Pumacagua.

He was a short slender man, with a high forehead, and piercing black eyes. At the time of his rebellion he was well advanced in years, and was possessed of considerable influence both among the Creoles and the Indians.

Under this leader, the rebellion soon spread along the table-land of the Andes to Guamanga and Guanta.

It is related that the Indians of birth conceived that the time was at length come for throwing off the accursed yoke of Spain, and for employing the immense wealth concealed in holes and caves of the earth, since the time of the Incas.

Accordingly, an aged chief arrived at the house where Pumacagua was sitting in council, and conducted him blindfold up the bed of the Huatanay. After a walk of some hours, the bandage was suddenly removed, and he found himself in a cave strewn with

golden figures of every size and shape. Having taken as much as he could carry, he was conducted in the same manner to his own house, where he arrived, to the astonishment of the council,* dripping with wet, and laden with the sinews of war.

Eventually, however, the rebels were entirely defeated by General Ramirez on the plain of Ayavirine, on the road from Cuzco to Puno, and Pumacagua was hung on the battle-field by his savage enemy, offering, with his last breath, to produce a pile of gold larger than that collected by Atahualpa, as a ransom for his life. The secret of the hidden cave has never been divulged.

Thus ended the second attempt of the Indians to gain their liberty, and for a few years longer the chains of slavery remained riveted upon them; but soon a cry was heard through the length and breadth of the land—Creoles and Indians, freemen and slaves, alike rose against the tyranny of Spain; and, in 1824, her magnificent colonial empire of the Indies was wrested from her grasp.

Since the independence, the condition of the Indians has greatly improved. To some extent the paths to distinction are opened to them, and though a small tribute or capitation tax is continued,† the injustice and tyranny of the remorseless Spaniards no longer weighs them down in hopeless slavery.

* I was told this by an old lady of the family of Astete, whose father was a colleague of Pumacagua, and who saw him return with his precious freight.

† This last vestige of Spanish tyranny was abolished by General Castilla, in a decree dated Aug. 1854.

At the present day the Indian population is seen to the greatest advantage on the wheat and maize farms of the charming valleys, and on the bleak punas of the Andes.

Their character, it must be confessed, has much deteriorated during the many years of ruthless oppression through which they have lingered. Imperceptibly, and by slow degrees, they have imbibed the vices of slavery, and petty thefts and drunkenness are now but too common. At the same time they make excellent soldiers, hardy, enduring, and brave; and, when well led, dauntless in battle. In recruiting by force for the army, however, the republican government still continues a system of tyranny.

To avoid it, the young recruits are often known to mutilate themselves to escape an odious military service. They are dragged from their homes, collected at different rendezvous, of which Huancayo is the principal, and desertion is punished with most barbarous flogging.

This forced recruiting is now the dread of the Indians, and there is a touching song of eternal farewell among them, ending—

Ya me llevan de soldado *
A las pampas de Huancayo.

But, escaped from service in the army, and working on the estates in the lovely valleys of the interior, the Indian leads, at the present day, a comparatively happy life. Their dress, which has prevailed for the last two

* Bustamante, p. 91.

hundred years, is very picturesque. It consists of a coat of emerald green serge, with short skirts and no collar, a red waistcoat with ample pockets, and black breeches loose and open at the knee. Their legs and feet are bare, while pieces of llama's hide protect the soles of their feet from the stones and briars; and on their heads are broad-brimmed monteros or caps, ornamented with gay-coloured ribbons, and gold lace.

The women are dressed in a red bodice and blue petticoat reaching a little below the knee—those of the unmarried girls being shorter. Round the shoulders is worn a *lliella* or mantle, secured in front by the *topo* or ornamental pin, usually of silver; and on the head they wear the same picturesque cap as the men.

In the valleys of the department of Cuzco, where the banks of the rivers are lined with pleasant farms surrounded by fruit gardens, and waving fields of maize, the Indians reside in huts or cottages, on different parts of the estate, frequently clustered together, and forming a small village.

Here the sweet songs of the Incas are heard, when the Indian mothers and maidens, at harvest time, enliven their toil as they disengrain the maize; while their husbands and lovers carry it in from the fields, looking, from the mountains above them, like long trains of ants laden with leaves, as they traverse the forest path.

The huts are usually built of stone, and roofed with red tiles, while pumpkins and other creepers cover the exterior walls, and the lofty cactus towers up like a prickly sentinel by the doorway. The young girls are





much employed in weaving coarse cloths called *baye-tones*, and spinning the thread; especially in the neighbourhood of Cuzco, while the men are employed in out-door labour.

The Indians are their own manufacturers, and display both skill and ingenuity in their work. Their ponchos, made of llama wool, and their bags for carrying coca and parched maize on long journeys, are woven by the girls, with different-coloured threads, into various bright patterns; and their slings for hurling stones to catch birds, sheep, or alpacas, are worked with equal taste and neatness.

They also make earthenware pots, carve the exteriors of their calabashes with all sorts of trees and animals, and cut out little wooden cups, from which they drink spirits on festive days.

Their chicha, or beer made from the Indian corn, is agreeable and refreshing, with a slight acid taste, and is universally drunk in all parts of Peru. Another essential article of consumption among the Indians is the leaf of the coca plant, a small pellet of which is constantly in their mouths. It has an agreeable taste like green tea, acting also as a narcotic. With a small supply of this favourite comforter, and a little parched maize in a bag, the Peruvian Indian will perform journeys of four and five days' duration, with wonderful despatch, and calmly endure incredible fatigue.

I passed through the vale of Vilcamayu, and down the valley from Cuzco to Sicuani, on the road to Puno, mixing much with the people, visiting and sleeping in

their huts, and listening to many a ballad and melancholy *yaravi*. At Sicuani our road turned from these pleasant vales, and led up to the bleak *punas* or tablelands of the Andes—a wild and thinly-peopled tract—towards the coast and the city of Arequipa.

We ascended a range of mountains, by a gorge called the Sebada-pata, and on reaching its summit, we came upon the lake of Pumacancha, about six miles long, and surrounded by wild mountain scenery. Crossing another range of hills, we passed the lake of Acopia, and little village of Surimani; and yet another range brought us to the great lake of Tungasaca.

This cold and elevated country was interesting from having been the scene of the last struggle between Tupac Amaru and the Spaniards. It seemed peculiarly adapted for the abode of men capable of heroic enterprise. Surrounded by magnificent scenery, it is yet, from its great height, comparatively unproductive, potatoes and quinoa (a sort of rice) in these elevated regions alone repaying the labour of the husbandman; while large flocks of llamas and alpacas are tended on the grassy heights. Such a country, like the highlands of Scotland, the steeps of the Caucasus, and the mountains of Switzerland and the Tyrol, is the birth-place and nursery of freedom.

Our party passed the scene of the heroic struggle of the last of the Incas, with a feeling of sadness and regret.

Leaving the lake of Tungasaca, and passing through the village of Pampamarca, we entered the little town of Yanaoca, the capital of the province of Canas.

Yanaoca is one of the loftiest towns in the world, being 14,250 feet above the level of the sea, and 6077 above the great St. Bernard. It is built on an immense grassy plain, covered with flocks of llamas and alpacas, and hemmed in by lofty wild-looking mountains; and consists of a long street, and a square or market-place, with two small churches.

Sunday is a great market day at Yanaoca, and all the villagers, for leagues round, assemble in the square. It was a busy and most interesting scene. The young girls sitting on the ground in rows, with their broad-brimmed monteros, mantles of various colours, short skirts, and bare legs and feet, were talking and laughing merrily together. Before them were their various wares, bags of potatoes, chuñus and ocas,* coca and medicinal herbs from the Montaña; eggs and chickens; maize and quinoa; cloth and cotton. The men in the same broad monteros, mingled in the crowd, and a continued noise of many voices arose from the busy scene.

Suddenly a bell was heard in the church. Every soul was instantly on his knees, a profound silence in an instant succeeded the noisy din, and a pin might have been heard to fall. It was the elevation of the host, each person crossed himself, and the business again proceeded.

Yanaoca is certainly a most interesting place. There

* *Chuñu* is a potato soaked in water, then pressed and frozen. It will keep good for almost any length of time.

Oca, a variety of potato, long and thin, and very good. The town derives its name from this plant—*Yana-oca*, meaning black *oca*.

the Inca Indians were to be seen in their purest state, with little or no Spanish contact, their manners unchanged, their language unadulterated. Beyond this little town, the lonely and desolate road leads over wide plains, with here and there a shepherd's hut in the distance; but otherwise the eye rests on vast undulating slopes covered with long grass, and bounded by wild and craggy mountains. At last we came in sight of the little village of Lanqui, where we were to pass the night. It is situated on the banks of a lake about twelve miles long, and four broad, surrounded by precipitous mountains.

On the 24th of May our party started from Lanqui, and ascending a steep and zigzag road, we reached a succession of still more elevated plains, covered with flocks of vicuñas. Three long days' journey over the wide spreading pastures, where the rivulets were so hard frozen, that they bore the weight of the mules; brought us to the little village of Ocoruro, the last on the east side of the Cordillera, the last too in the department of Cuzco, and the last where we were to see the Inca Indians, with their picturesque dress, or hear the Quichua language in its purity. It is situated on a grassy plain, which stretches away to the feet of the highest peaks of the Andes. A frozen stream passes half round the village, which consists of about forty huts built of large stones, and thatched with the *ychu*, or long grass of the Andes.

From Ocoruro a steep path, covered with snow, leads over a pass whose summit is 17,740 feet above the level of the sea, and 2000 above the highest peak of Mont

Blanc ; and a few miles further, is the little post hut of Rumi-huasi, on a wild forbidding height covered with patches of snow. It is the loftiest habitation in the world, and about 420 feet above the summit of Mont Blanc.

Leaving this uninviting hut, we rode over snowy plains, down into rocky sunless ravines, up the steep sides of craggy hills, and across frozen rivulets, till sunset.

After the sun went down, it became piercingly cold, a keen wind blew across the plain, the sky was cloudless, and the stars looked lovely beyond description, while for leagues and leagues we had seen no signs of a human being. We pressed on, peering anxiously into the darkness for the resting-place, and several times deceived by a huge boulder. At last, however, we came in sight of two stone huts, and a large corral—it was the post station of Ayavirine.

On entering one of the huts, we found two Indians, who declared on oath that there was nothing eatable in the place ; and to the other hut there was no door. At length we discovered a doorway blocked up with large stones, and having pulled them down, we were rewarded by finding some potatoes, and a heap of firewood. A blazing fire soon rose in front of the hut, and the white smoke curled up towards the dark and cloudless sky—a cheering sight to us tired wanderers. After a long and weary journey, in a land far from the haunts of men, and in the still solitude of these lofty wildernesses, a bright fire in the open air, with a supper cooking over it, imparts a feeling of comfort—a sense

of genuine enjoyment seldom felt amidst the luxuries of civilised life. •

On the following morning, when the sun rose, we walked to examine a curious formation, about half a mile from the post house. In the face of a cliff, a number of tall columns rise, like the giant's causeway, but of a soft crumbling pumice-stone full of small crystals. Some of them stand singly, and others in clusters, the largest being full twenty feet high, and six feet in circumference. At the foot of these columns, which are called the Friars ("Los Frayles"), is a large sheet of water, frozen over. Numbers of biscaches were burrowing in the cliff, and while we stood near it a magnificent condor soared up into the clear morning sky.

Between Ayavirine and the post house of Apo, where the volcano of Arequipa first comes in sight, is a distance of seventy miles over the same wild uninhabited tract of country. The volcano is in the shape of a perfect cone, with a summit 20,320 feet above the level of the sea. At its foot, and about ninety miles from the Pacific, is the city of the same name. On the 29th of May, we reached the crest of one of the hills which branch off from the volcano, and came in sight of the fair city at its feet, situated in the midst of a wide and fertile plain. From this view, Arequipa appears to great advantage, every house being of the most dazzling white, and surrounded by groves of willows and fruit trees; while vast fields of maize and alfalfa (lucerne) stretch away to the south and east, to the feet of those rocky hills which divide the lovely



C. M. L.

Arequipa, from the Alameda.

Engraved by J. H. P.



oasis from the wide sandy desert intervening between Arequipa and the sea coast.

The city of Arequipa, in Lat. $16^{\circ} 13' S.$, and 7,850 feet above the sea, was first established as a military colony by Rocca, the sixth Inca, who conquered this part of Peru; and the present city was founded by Pizarro, the Spanish conqueror of Peru, in 1540. It is situated in a large fertile plain, bounded on three sides by a sandy desert, and on the east by the volcano, and the range of the Cordilleras. The formation of the land is volcanic, and fearfully subject to earthquakes, many of which would have destroyed a city less firmly built, and less adapted to resist them. The houses are all built of a white volcanic stone, and the roofs and ceilings are vaulted with the same material. Thus they are of great strength, and having little foundation, they yield to the violent movements of the earth, while their great solidity preserves them from falling. The streets run at right angles, and there is a fine square in the centre of the city, with arcades round three sides, and a new cathedral on the fourth.

Arequipa is one of the principal places in Peru, the capital of a department, and the place of residence of a bishop. It has always had considerable influence on the politics of the country, the Indian population being unusually courageous and turbulent, and fully alive to the pleasures of a revolution or a street row; and the higher class of residents being opulent, proud, and frequently talented.

The Arequipa family of Tristan produced the last Viceroy of Peru, Don Pio; the Riveros are among the

most distinguished families of the republic, and number among their scions, Don Mariano, the famous antiquary ; Don Francisco, the diplomatist ; and the late Prefect of Arequipa. The families of Canseca, Benavides, and Goyeneche are also eminent in the annals of their country.

I was lodged with the Landazuri family, in a delightful quinta above Arequipa, and at the foot of the volcano, comprising a fine house and most beautiful garden, with long alleys of roses and jessamine.* On the top of the stone-vaulted roof there was a summer house commanding a splendid view of the fair white city, and the fertile plain beyond. The plain is irrigated by the rapid river Chilé, which passes through the town, and is crossed by a handsome stone bridge. Many estates and country-houses add beauty and enjoyment to the neighbourhood ; and, at a distance of about twenty miles, are the baths of Yura in a small and narrow ravine, where there are both ferruginous and sulphureous springs ; the latter producing the most salutary effects in various kinds of disorders.

From Arequipa to its seaport, Islay, after passing a range of rocky hills, the road leads over a great sandy desert for ninety-five miles. The sand is hard, and forms a good road ; but in the night it is very dangerous, as there is nothing to mark the path but the prints of hoofs and skeletons of mules ; and many people have wandered from it, and perished miserably of hunger. Not very long before we passed along it,

* This villa has since been the site of a bloody battle between the citizens of Arequipa and the adherents of General Echenique.

a traveller lost his way in the night, and wandered for two days over the trackless waste, almost perishing with hunger and thirst.

At length, a few hours before dawn, he heard a faint sound, resembling as he hoped the bark of a dog, and, following in the direction whence it came, he reached the valley of Tambo, and was thus saved almost by a miracle.

The whole desert is covered with little isolated hillocks of white sand, all in the figure of a half-moon, with the convex sides towards the sea. They are said to shift their positions, continually drifted by the wind. On the road there are two post-houses, the Cruz de Caña and Cruz de Guerreros, offering the accommodation of a roof and water, but little else, to the parched traveller. From the latter the road descends rapidly down a deep ravine, with steep cliffs on either side, and here and there a miserable withered cactus rising out of the barren soil. The dust, which is supposed to be the ashes ejected from the volcano of Arequipa,* and extends along this part of the coast for ten leagues, rose in thick white clouds, giving the cavalcade the appearance of a troop of millers.

Islay, which is surrounded for leagues and leagues by a trackless sandy desert, is a small port formed by a few rocky islets, and contains about 2000 inhabitants.

A considerable traffic is carried on from Islay, as here the European goods for Cuzco and Arequipa are principally imported, in exchange for alpaca wool, bark, and specie, &c. I sailed from Islay on the 21st of

* Fitzroy, p. 359.

June, and reached Lima on the 24th of the same month, 1853.

The Indian population from Cuzco to Arequipa, who are thinly scattered over the table-land of the Andes, are a people of uncommon interest, and undoubtedly capable, as a race, of progressive improvement. It has been seen that they are remarkable for personal valour, incredible endurance of fatigue, and great ingenuity; and their vices of drunkenness and idleness are common to all half-educated people. Since the independence, too, and now that an opening has been made for rising ability, many persons of pure Indian extraction have risen to posts of the highest eminence in the state. Thus Santa Cruz, the Protector of the Peru-Bolivian confederation, was a grandson of Calomana, an Indian chieftain of La Paz; General Gamarra, his eventually successful antagonist, was a native of Cuzco; and Castilla, the present ruler of the republic, began life as a poor muleteer in Tarapaca.

Many Indians, too, such as Dr. Lunarejo, a former Rector of the University of Cuzco; and Bustamante, a famous modern traveller, have distinguished themselves as men of literary attainments. With such examples before our eyes, we may not be without a hope that the great body of their countrymen may, at no distant time, influenced by an increasing intercourse with foreigners, and a large mixture of Teutonic blood,* raise themselves once more to a high place in the scale of civilised nations.

* The number of German emigrants, in Peru, is rapidly increasing.

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTAÑA OF PERU.

THE RIVERS AMAZON, HUALLAGA, YUCAYALI, MADEIRA,
AND PURUS.

To the eastward of the Andes, an immense extent of dense forest, stretching away for hundreds of leagues, and covering two-thirds of the area of the Republic of Peru, forms a portion of the enormous basin of the Amazon, and is known under the general name of the *Montaña*.

To a great extent unexplored, and inhabited by thinly-scattered tribes of wild Indians, this wide tract of country, of inexhaustible fertility, rich in all the varied productions of tropical nature, and teeming with animal and vegetable life, is still unproductive to civilised man, and slumbers in the undisturbed repose of its virgin forests.

Here the rank vegetation grows in rich and unchecked profusion ; huge trees, some remarkable for the beauty of their polished woods, others for the valuable qualities of their gums and resins, and others for the size and strength of their timber, stretch out their broad arms, which are enchained by thousands of parasites and closely-matted creepers ; birds of dazzling

plumage wander amidst the labyrinth of foliage; and every variety of animal life enjoys a brief existence, while the voice of man is never heard. Yet broad navigable rivers traverse the Montaña in every direction, flowing onwards to where

Swell'd by a thousand streams, impetuous hurl'd
From all the roaring Andes, huge descends
The mighty Orellana. With unabated force,
In silent dignity they sweep along,
And traverse realms unknown, and blooming wilds,
And fruitful deserts,—worlds of solitude,—
Where the sun smiles, and seasons teem in vain,
Unseen and unenjoy'd.*

The basin of the Amazon, the Queen of rivers, of which the Montaña of Peru forms a part, covers 2,048,480 square miles of fertile country,† and is intersected by 45,000 miles of water-communication. This immense river-system, which from its very magnitude, and the gigantic scale on which nature here displays her handiwork, is calculated to attract the admiration and wonder of thinking men, is alike interesting from the romantic character of the adventures connected with it, and the wonders attributed to its still unknown and unexplored recesses; and important in a commercial and scientific point of view, from the profusion of its natural wealth, the capabilities of its uncleared plains for perennial cultivation, and the advantages held out by its navigation for opening a great highway

* Thomson's Seasons.

† Basin of the Mississippi covers 982,000 square miles.

„	La Plata	„	886,000	„
„	Danube	„	234,000	„
„	Nile	„	520,000	„
„	Ganges	„	432,000	„

to Europe, for the riches of the continent of South America.

When, in 1499, Vincent Pinzon, in the little barque *Niña*, came to a great sea of fresh water, and filled his casks after a long sea-voyage, he little thought that he was at the mouth of the mightiest river in the world, the volume of whose waters drove the salt sea back for miles from the coast of Guiana.

It was not until 1544 that the whole course, estimated at the time at 1800 leagues, was traversed by a European ; and the account of the perilous expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro from Quito, down the Coca and Napo ; the endurance of his soldiers, and the desertion of Orellana, exceeds in interest, as described in the beautiful language of Prescott, the wildest creations of fictitious history.

A still more strange and romantic interest attaches itself to the expedition which sixteen years afterwards left Caxamarca under Pedro de Ursua.

At that period the heads of all the adventurous spirits of the Old World were turned by the rumours of *El Dorado*. A city, it was said, existed in the far interior of South America, whose streets were paved with gold, and whose king was powdered with gold-dust every morning.

Expedition after expedition started in quest of this marvellous city ; no tale was too wild or incredible to be believed ; and unheard-of sufferings and hardships were cheerfully undergone in the hope of at length discovering the matchless prize.

Not only did the Spaniards from Peru, Quito, and

Bogota, traverse the wide forests of the Montaña, and track the course of unknown rivers, but even from England, Raleigh sailed forth to the shores of Guiana, in search of the golden city of Manoa.

At the close of 1560 Pedro de Ursua, by order of the Marquis of Cañete, then Viceroy of Peru, penetrated from Caxamarca, in the Andes, to the banks of the Huallaga, and with about 400 soldiers, proceeded to descend that river in canoes, in search of El Dorado. In the course of the voyage, the crew rose upon their commander, and put him to death ; electing a serjeant of mean Biscayan birth, named Lopez de Aguirre, in his place.

The mutiny is supposed to have taken place at a point on the Huallaga, where the banks are steep and rocky, and the river very rapid, a little below Chasuta. On a cliff at this point a number of crosses are carved, and it is still called, *The leap of the Traitor Aguirre*.

From this time Aguirre commenced a wild career of piracy and rapine, commencing with the murder of Ursua's wife, the faithful Lady Anes, "who forsook not her Lord in all his travels unto death."

Appointing his beautiful young daughter as Lieutenant, Aguirre descended the Amazon, and passing along the shores of Guiana, attacked and pillaged Marguerita, putting every one to the sword. From this point he addressed a curious letter of defiance, which is still extant, to King Philip II. Leaving Marguerita, he continued his ravages along the whole coast of Venezuela, but was eventually attacked and

defeated by the royal forces. Seeing all hope was gone, Aguirre called his young daughter to him, whom he had destined for his successor, and plunged his sword into her heart. The pirate himself was taken alive, and hanged at Trinidad.

The exploits of Aguirre mark the age in which he lived, when the great Spanish nation, at the height of its power, sent forth her sons to perform deeds of daring and enterprise, with a stedfastness of purpose, and a reckless disregard of the dangers and difficulties which awaited them, that calls forth the admiration of those after-ages, in which no more continents remain to be discovered, no more empires to be conquered. And thus, by the wild adventurers in search of El Dorado, the course of the Amazon was explored, and some of its mighty tributaries examined, during the first century of its discovery.

In the seventeenth century the spirit of religious conversion to some extent advanced the exploration of the basin of the Amazon, which had been so strangely begun by the fearless worshippers of gold. The Jesuits, those champions of the Church of Rome, were the pioneers of geographical knowledge on the banks of the Amazon.

Established at a moment when the power and even existence of the pope was endangered by the preachers of awakened Europe, they formed around his throne a fearless and zealous band of defenders: obtaining the highest influence in every Catholic court, and sending their missionaries forth to the remotest corners of the earth. The exclusive and almost unknown empires of



China and Japan were traversed by those earnest and indefatigable men. St. Xavier established Japanese Christian communities which were not expelled until 1637, while in Pekin a Jesuit's house exists at the present day. The mysterious regions of Abyssinia were also explored by Jesuit priests, and Father Fernandez was the first European who gazed on the Mountains of the Moon.

In Spanish America their influence was very great, and in Paraguay they converted a whole population, and spread happiness and peace among the simple Indians.

Freely these faithful ministers essayed
The arduous enterprise, contented well
If with success they sped, or if as martyrs fell.
And Charity on works of love would dwell
In California's dolorous regions drear,
And where amid a pathless world of wood
Huge Orellana rolls his affluent flood.

Raphael Ferrer, in 1602, was the first Jesuit who, descending the Napo from Quito, reached the banks of the Amazon: but it was not until 1635, that Don Diego Barca de Vega, by order of the Prince of Esquilache, then Viceroy of Peru, descended the river Santiago from Cuenca, and founded the town of San Borja, on the left bank of the Amazon,* which became the capital of the Jesuit missions. Barca de Vega

* The great river, here, and from its source in the lake of Lauricocha to Loreto, on the frontier of Peru, is called the *Marañon*; from Loreto to Barra, the *Solimoes*; and from Barra to the Atlantic, the *Para*; but it is more convenient to call the whole course the *Amazon*, the name by which it is generally known.

was the first governor of the new province of Maynas, which was at this time formed by the Spaniards on the head waters of the mighty river, and its affluents.

The Jesuit missionaries arrived at San Borja in 1637, and commenced their labours among the wild tribes of Indians, collecting them into villages, teaching them to clear and till the ground, to renounce many of their vicious customs, and to believe in the name of Christ.

Meanwhile, the work of research continued. In 1636, two friars* had descended the river to its mouth, where they found a little colony of Portuguese established at a small town called Para, which was founded in 1615 by Don Francisco de Caldeira.

At this time the two kingdoms of Spain and Portugal were united under one head, so that the friars were not only received with cordiality, but in the following year an enterprising Portuguese officer, named Texeira, was the first European to ascend the river, with 70 soldiers and 1200 Indians in 47 large canoes; proceeding up the Napo, and arriving at Payamino in Quijos, after a voyage of eight months from Para. He eventually reached the city of Quito.

This highly successful voyage led the Count of Chinchon, the Viceroy of Peru, to order that a scientific expedition should be undertaken to lay down the course of the giant stream with greater accuracy. Accordingly, in 1639, Texeira started from Quito, accompanied by Don Juan Acuña, the learned rector

* Franciscans, named Andres de Toledo and Domingo Bribea.

of the College of Cuenca, and Don Andres Artieda, Professor of Theology at Quito, both of them members of the Society of Jesus. Descending the Napo, they embarked on the Amazon, and after a prosperous voyage, arrived at Para in December of the same year. Father Acuña subsequently printed a most interesting account of his voyage, the first published description of the Queen of rivers.*

While the more adventurous of these fathers were prosecuting their researches on the broad waters, bordered by unknown and impenetrable forests; others continued their labours among the wild Indians in the provinces of Maynas and Quijos. The most earnest and persevering of the Jesuits of this period was the excellent Father Samel Fritz, who is called by M. Condamine, the Apostle of the Amazon.

At the time of his arrival in Maynas, there were twenty-one missions on the shores of the river, besides San Borja; principally among the Omaguas tribe of Indians, the most intelligent of their race, who used the custom of flattening the heads of their children. Between the years 1686 and 1689, Fritz established missions from the mouth of the Napo to beyond the Rio Negro, including the little Indian villages of Omaguas, Yurimaguas, and Aysaras.

The wild tribes, wandering through the forests in a state of nature, and subsisting by fishing and the chase; were first persuaded to settle around the hut of the missionary, and were eventually instructed in the

* Page 191.

religion of Christ. It was found, however, almost impossible to recover these primitive people from their wandering habits, and the missions were constantly shifting from place to place along the banks of the river, and varying in population, in an uncertain ratio from year to year. Father Fritz, in 1689, went down the Amazon and returned to Lisbon. In 1691, he again proceeded to the scene of his labours, exploring the Huallaga and other tributaries, and, in 1707, his still useful map of the Amazon and its affluents was published at Quito.

In 1740, there were forty missions in Quijos* and Maynas, containing about 12,800 souls, the capital of the district having been changed from San Borja to Laguna, near the mouth of the Huallaga.

But the expulsion and persecution of the society followed shortly after this date. Their missions were destroyed, the Indian converts resumed their former mode of life, and no traces of their labours are now to be found among the descendants of those wild people to whose conversion and welfare they had devoted their lives.

If the Jesuit missionaries of the Amazon are to be judged by the permanent good they have effected among the Indians, small indeed will be the meed of praise that could be allotted to them; but if

* Missions in Quijos: a period of 130 years is marked by three periods.

	<i>Years.</i>	<i>Missionaries.</i>	<i>Indians.</i>
1.	45 . . .	32 . . .	32 tribes
2.	44 . . .	43 . . .	34 „
3.	41 . . .	86 . . .	37 „

Notes of M. Ytarburu on Canton Quijos. Nov. 1853.

we forget for a moment the ungenerous hatred with which Protestant English are accustomed to pursue the name of a Jesuit; and calmly consider the privations and misery they underwent, their banishment from society, their cheerful sacrifice of self, all undertaken for the glory of God; then shall we recognise in these devoted men, however blind their obedience to an earthly master, or great their religious errors, the earnest, though erring followers of our Redeemer; and confess that, with Hans Egede, the Apostle of Greenland, they might fairly exclaim:—

“We have laboured in vain, we have spent our strength for nought and in vain; yet surely our judgment is with the Lord, and our work with our God.”—Isaiah, *xlix.* 4.

The religious enterprises of the Jesuits have been followed in our own time by a few scientific expeditions, which comprise the sum of our knowledge of the Amazon and its tributaries.

In 1743, M. Condamine, who had been engaged in measuring a degree on the equator, descended the Amazon, and published an account of his voyage at Paris; in 1746, one Joao de Souna left Cuyaba, and descended to the Amazon; and in 1774, Senhor Ribeira, a Portuguese astronomer, made a voyage of inspection as far as Egas, near the mouth of the Teffé.

In the present century, Lieut. Maw, in 1827, and Lieut. Smyth, in 1835, starting from Lima, descended the Huallaga and Amazon to Para; Count Castelnau, commanding a French expedition sent out by Louis

Philippe, went down the Ucayali and Amazon in 1846; and in 1852, two officers of the United States navy, Lieuts. Herndon and Gibbon, explored the rivers Ucayali, Huallaga, Mamoré, and Madeira; while the lower part of the Amazon, and the great rivers Negro and Branco have been described by Edwards, Wallace, and Sir Robert Schomburgk.*

The broad bosom of the Amazon, though long neglected, seems destined to become a great highway of commerce and civilisation, to which the tributaries of Brazil, Peru, and Columbia, many of them far larger than any river in Europe, will eventually waft the varied products of those favoured regions.

The Brazilian town of Para, at the mouth of the Amazon, situated about eighty miles from the sea, on the south shore, is the mart through which passes the whole commerce of the great river and its affluents. It is a handsome and thriving town, with about 14,000 inhabitants, in a rich and fertile country, and is well supplied with beef from the large alluvial island of Marajo. The rainy season lasts from January to July.

* "Journal du Voyage," &c., par M. de la Condamine. Paris, 1751.

"Journal of a passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic," by H. Maw, R.N. 1829.

"Narrative of a Journey from Lima to Para." Lieut. W. Smyth. London, 1836.

"Expédition, &c. sous la direction de F. de Castelnau." Paris, 1850.

"Valley of the Amazon," Part I. By Lieut. Herndon. Washington, 1853.

"Valley of the Amazon," Part II. By Lieut. Gibbon. Washington, 1854.

"Voyage up the River Amazon." By W. H. Edwards. London, 1847.

"Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro." By A. Wallace. London, 1853.

"Papers on the Rio Negro, Corentins," &c. By Sir R. Schomburgk (in B. G. S. "Journals.")

The present export trade, representing, in fact, the trade of the Amazon, is only estimated at about \$2,000,000 yearly; and Para was visited, during the year 1850, by sixteen English, and thirty-three American vessels. The exports consist of India-rubber (\$552,000), cocoa, cinnamon, cotton, wax, isinglass, gum copal, sarsaparilla, nuts, tapioca (\$3000), wood, tiger-skins, copaiba balsam, and sugar. It will be observed that nearly the whole of these articles are the natural products of the uncleared and virgin forest; how vast then will be the increase in the value of its trade, when fertile fields, yielding all the richest tropical harvests, supply the place, even to a small extent, of the thick and untrodden jungle.

From Para the river continues to have a depth of thirty fathoms, and is several miles in breadth, for a distance of a thousand miles; receiving the great rivers of Trombetas from Guiana, and of Tocantins, Xingu, and Tapajos, which drain the northern half of the empire of Brazil. The shores of the Amazon for this distance are thinly inhabited by settlers, who cultivate an inferior kind of cocoa and farinha, the staple food of the Indians. At the mouth of the Tapajos, which is one mile and a half wide, is the small town of Santarem, with a population of 2000 souls, and a country producing sarsaparilla and farinha, and large herds of cattle. The river Tapajos is navigable for large vessels for 600 miles, and thence in boats of eight tons, and a portage of fifteen miles, the diamond district of Matto Grosso is reached in twenty-six days from Santarem. On an eminence near Diamantino the sources of the

Tapajos and La Plata may be seen at the same time.

Higher up the Amazon, and 1100 miles from Para, the Rio Negro, one of the largest secondary rivers in the world, after draining a vast extent of country, and communicating with the Orinoco by the natural canal of Casiquiari, swells the great parent stream with its waters. At its mouth is the Brazilian town of Barra, with near 4000 inhabitants, the capital of a province containing 35,000 whites and civilised Indians; and the whole value of whose export trade is \$60,000 per annum.

Above Barra the Amazon varies in depth from twenty to twelve fathoms, and in a course of a thousand miles receives the mighty tributaries from the Andes, flowing through Peru and Bolivia on the south, and Ecuador on the north side. The rivers Napo, Yca or Putumayu, and Japura belong to the latter republic. The Napo, famous for the expeditions of Gonzalo Pizarro and Texeira, which embarked on its waters, takes its rise near the volcano of Cotopaxi, and drains the canton of Quijos, a prolific land abounding in vanille, tobacco, rice, maize, cotton, coffee and gold. The river is navigable for 300 miles.

Four hundred miles above Barra, on the south shore of the Amazon, and near the mouth of the river Teffé, is the little town of Egas, which was founded by Joaquim de Mello in 1759, as a station of the Carmelites. Its population is now 800. The trade is carried on in five schooners of twenty to forty tons; and sarsaparilla, costing \$4 the arroba, is sold at Para for 7. The

whole trade is valued at \$38,000 with Para, and \$20,000 with Peru.

At a distance of 840 miles above Barra, the two little settlements of Tabatinga and Loreto mark the boundary between Brazil and Peru. In this interval the two great rivers of Madeira and Purus, and the smaller ones of Coari, Teffé, Jurua and Jutay, add their waters to the Amazon. The courses of the latter streams are lost in the dense forests, and strange tales are told of the wonders of their upper waters. Amongst others, it is related by Castelnau, that near the sources of the Jurua there existed a tribe of Indians with tails six inches long.

At Loreto, the first Peruvian settlement on the Amazon, a governor resides, with about 300 inhabitants. At this point the river Yaravi empties itself on the south side of the Amazon, forming, by the treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777, the boundary between Brazil and Peru.

The two great tributaries above Loreto, which drain great part of the Montaña of Peru, and whose navigation is looked to as a means of opening the trade of their rich and inexhaustible plains, and mineral-bearing streams, are the Huallaga and Yucayali.

I. The Huallaga, a great Peruvian river, rising near the town of Huanuco, is navigable for 600 miles.

The canoe navigation of this important stream commences at a place called Tingo Maria, only 80 miles from Huanuco, and 300 from Lima. Three hundred miles further down is the town of Tarapoto, the port of the great Peruvian provinces of Caxamarca and Moyobampo.

bamba. Situated on a fertile plain, crossed by many springs, sugar, cocoa, cotton, and all sorts of grain are produced in abundance, the cotton being gathered in six months after sowing, and the rice in five months; while bananas ripen without requiring other labour than the occasional clearing away of noxious weeds at their roots.

The transport of goods over the mountains to Moyobamba and Chachapoyas is effected on the backs of Indians, who carry about seventy-five pounds each. The women of Tarapoto weave 35,000 yards of cotton cloth annually for export along the Huallaga and Amazon as far as Egas.*

A few miles below Tarapoto, on the left bank, is the town of Chasuta, the value of whose yearly commerce is \$1500; lower down still is Yurimaguas, with a population of 250; and near the mouth of the river, the village of Laguna, once the capital of the Jesuit missions, carries on a trade in wax, sarsaparilla, copal, copaiba, and salt fish.

The Huallaga is navigable for vessels drawing five feet water as far as Chasuta, and the ascent takes about three times as long as the descent. It abounds, like the Amazon and most of its tributaries, in the *vaca*

* In 1850 the population of Tarapoto was about 4000, and such is the salubrity of the climate, that in 1848 there were 235 births to only 40 deaths.

The table-land of the Andes, above Tarapoto, contains the town of Caxamarca, where, in 1792, there were seven persons living, of the ages of 114, 117, 121, 131, 132, 141, and 147 respectively. One of them, when he died, had 800 living descendants.—*El Río Amazonas, y las comarcas que forman su hoya*” &c. Lima, 1853.

marina, a species of large seal about nine feet long and six round, yielding thirty-five to forty pounds of grease.

As has been seen, the Huallaga was first discovered by the expedition under Pedro de Ursua; and, in 1631, Father Lugando, a Franciscan from Lima, arrived in the Pampa del Sacramento (as the vast forest-covered plains are called between the Huallaga and Yucayali), and succeeded in converting several Indian tribes.

It has since been descended by scientific expeditions under Lieut. Maw, R.N., in 1827; Lieut. Smythe, R.N., in 1835; and Lieut. Herndon, U.S.N., in 1852. An American circus company, I believe in 1850, after performing in several towns of Peru, also descended the Huallaga and Amazon to Para, and an Englishman of the party carved V. R. on the famous rock called the "Leap of Aguirre." A considerable trade is carried on by the Indians, along its whole length, from Tingo Maria to the mouth.

II. The Yucayali, an immense river, whose tributaries drain the greater part of the Peruvian sierra, empties itself into the Amazon about 210 miles below the mouth of the Huallaga.

Numerous large and important streams combine to swell the waters of the Yucayali. The Chancha-mayu, Perene, Mataro, Mayra, and Pozuzu, collect the smaller rivers of the departments of Junin and Ayacucho; the Pampas, and Apurimac (whose source, near the volcano of Arequipa, may be considered also as the main source of the Amazon), cross the road from Ayacucho to Cuzco; and the Vilcamayu and Paucar-tambo, from the eastward of the city of the

Incas, collect the waters from the mountains of **Vilcanota**; and all pour their accumulated floods into the great parent stream of the Yucayali, which bears them onwards to the Amazon.

The Franciscan Friars, on the Yucayali and its tributaries, have laboured with equal energy amongst the wild and untameable Indians, as did the Jesuits on the head-waters of the Amazon; and their labours have been crowned with far greater and more durable success.

It was in 1635 that a Franciscan named Geronimo Ximenes first penetrated into the country of the fierce and cannibal Campas Indians, who wander along the banks of some of the western tributaries of the Yucayali; and was murdered by them at a place called Cerro de la Sal: and again in 1674, the priests and Spaniards of the missions were massacred.*

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the convent of Ocopa in the Andes, between Xauxa and Guamanga, was founded by a Franciscan named San José, for the purpose of rearing and educating young missionaries for the conversion of the Indians of the Montaña; and in 1739, several missions are described as being in a flourishing condition.

Two years afterwards, however, a fearful insurrection broke out among the native tribes, along the whole frontier line of Spanish settlements, headed by an Indian named Juan Santos, who assumed the title of

* Don Cristobal de Castilla y Zamora, Bishop of Guamanga, a natural son of Charles II. King of Spain, penetrated into the Montaña, between 1669 and 1679, baptising 118 infidels.—*Guia de Guamanga*, p. 122.

Atahualpa Inca. The whole of the missions were destroyed, twenty-six priests were murdered, and it was long before this formidable rebellion was repelled, Europeans being driven for many years from the rich plains of the Montaña.

At length, however, the brave and indefatigable Father Girbal passed down its hitherto fatal tributaries, and in 1791 established a mission on the main stream of the Yucayali, at a place called Sarayacu, only 270 miles from its junction with the Amazon.

The excellent Franciscan Girbal was succeeded in his labours by one of those men whose devotion to a holy cause impels them to the performance of deeds of heroism and endurance which throw the hard-earned glories of the soldier, or the vaunted energy of the gold-seeking adventurer, far into the shade, and which occur only at rare intervals in the history of the world.

This great and good man, Manuel Plaza by name, was born of good family at Riobamba near Quito, on the 1st of February 1772, and having become a Franciscan monk, was ordained priest in his twenty-third year. Having read an account of the journey of Father Girbal in the "*Mercurio Peruano*," he was seized with the desire of emulating the labours of that faithful priest. Accordingly, resisting the prayers of his family and friends, he descended the Napo, and after remaining a year in Maynas, ascended the Yucayali, and established himself at the mission of Sarayacu.

It was not, however, until 1800 that he took permanent charge of the little colony, having, during the interval, twice performed the perilous journey between

the waters of the Yucayali and Lima; once made the voyage to Quito and back; and passed years in traversing the trackless and usually fatal Montaña, preaching the gospel to the wild Indian tribes of — Cashibos, Panos, and Conibos, who alone respected him among their white invaders. “Father Plaza, the hero of the Pampa del Sacramento,” says Count Castelnau, “is assuredly no ordinary man: a firm faith, a complete sacrifice of self, and an uncommon force of will, has enabled him to surmount, during nearly half a century, great privations, and dangers without number. I was struck with his resemblance to the great Cuvier.”

Lieut. Smyth found Father Plaza at his post at Sarayacu in 1835; and Count Castelnau, who, in 1846, led an expedition from the fertile plains of Santa Anna near Cuzco, down the Vilcamaya and Yucayali to the Amazon, gives a long account of this worthy missionary.

Lieut. Herndon, when he ascended the Yucayali, and visited Sarayacu in 1852, found that, after a life of inestimable utility, and a residence in these wilds of nearly fifty years, Father Plaza had at length been called to his rest;* and was succeeded by Father Cimini, who, in conjunction with three other missionaries, ruled the settlements of Sarayacu, Catalina, and Tierra Blanca, whose collected population amounted to about 1350 souls, consisting chiefly of Panos Indians.

— Ten miles above Sarayacu, the Yucayali receives the waters of the Aguatyá, which flows through forests of sarsaparilla, the value of which at Sarayacu is about \$1 for a hundred pounds. In Para, this price rises to \$25,

* He died Bishop of Cuença.

and in Europe to from \$40 to \$60, according to the market.

Thus, as on these secluded streams there is no money, and nearly every transaction is completed by barter,—four yards of cotton cloth, worth about two shillings, after a journey from Liverpool round the Horn, and over the Andes, reaching Sarayacu in about a year, is exchanged for 100 lbs. of sarsaparilla, which, being sent by the Amazon to Liverpool, realises a profit of \$50 to \$60.

The Yucayali at Sarayacu is half a mile broad, and twenty feet deep, with a current running three knots. At the mouth of this great tributary, the Amazon is three quarters of a mile wide, and thirty fathoms deep; and here the little town of Nauta is built, with a population of about 3000.

It is improbable that the trade of the Yucayali, though a very large river, will ever repay the expense of steam navigation. The enormous distance of its upper feeders from the civilised parts of Peru, and the almost insurmountable difficulties to be encountered in passing through the cannibal and savage tribes who wander over the plains that border its tributaries, offer obstacles not easily to be overcome.

III. No better opinion can be given of the great river Madeira, and its tributaries the Beni, Mamore, and Itenez, which receive the accumulated floods of the eastern slopes of the Bolivian Andes.

The Beni rises in the mountains of La Paz, and drains the fertile valleys of Yungus and Apollo, rich in Peruvian bark, chocolate, and gold.

The Mamore, which is formed by the smaller rivers of Paracti, Chapare, and Chimore, receives the waters of the Bolivian provinces of Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz. It traverses the extensive district inhabited by the Moxos Indians, a brave and intelligent race. The district contains wide grassy lands, over which vast herds of cattle and horses roam in search of pasture; and cocoa and sugar are cultivated on the banks of the Mamore. Ostriches, large pigeons, and myriads of wild duck abound. The capital of Moxos, on the Mamore, is called Trinidad, and was built by the Jesuits. There are several other settlements along the course of the river. The Itenez, forming the boundary of Brazil and Bolivia, flows from the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, and empties itself into the Madeira. Canoes trade on this river, bringing down gold, diamonds, ipecacuanha, and other products from Cuyaba and Villa Bella, on their way to the Amazon. The Beni is so full of rapids that it would be quite impossible to navigate it with steamers.

The junction of these three great affluents form the river Madeira, which contains twenty-two dangerous falls. Near its mouth, which is a few miles below Barra, is the small town of Borba, where a little cocoa is cultivated; but the interior of the country is unknown. Alligators bask undisturbed in the grassy swamps, and tigers prowl about upon the tracks of tapirs and deer.

The late Colonel Lloyd, H.M. Chargé d'Affaires in Bolivia, examined some of the sources of the Mamore in 1852, but gave a most unfavourable report of its capabilities as a great fluvial highway. "To arrive,"

he says, "at Bolivia by this route, a water distance of some 2500 miles would have to be traversed through an inhospitable country, with a hot and pestilential climate; the water, even close up to Chimoré, swarming with alligators, and the banks overrun with savage Indians."

Lieutenant Gibbon, U.S.N., who descended the Mamore and Madeira to the Amazon, in 1852, reports that from Borba near the mouth of the Madeira to the first falls, is a distance of 500 miles. A vessel drawing six feet may navigate this distance at any season. Then by a mule-road, 180 miles long, not now existing, the dangers of the falls and rapids might be avoided; and finally, the further distance to Vinchuta on the Chapare, of 500 miles, might be accomplished in a steamer in four days.

There is however one great affluent of the Amazon, more important than the Huallaga or Yucayali, as affording access to the principal and central province of Peru—that of Cuzco; and likely to present greater facilities for navigation than the Madeira; which has, as yet, remained almost entirely unknown and unexplored.

IV. This is the Purus, which empties itself into the Amazon, by four mouths, a little above Barra, and at a distance of about 740 miles from Para.

The affluents of the Purus enjoy the privilege of carrying off the waters of those beautiful Andes which formed the eastern boundary of the territory of Inca Manco Ccapac. They then flow through extensive forests, which are still the most interesting, and in the

Spanish times were the most productive, of all the Peruvian Montaña; and eventually unite to form a great river called by the Spaniards the Madre de Dios, and by the Inca Indians the Amaru-mayu, or serpent river, which is evidently identical with the Purus, whose mouths alone are as yet known to Europeans.

The beautiful forest-covered plains, through which these distant tributaries of the Purus flow, reach to the slopes of the Andes, within sixty miles of Cuzco, and are generally known as the valleys of Paucar-tambo.

They were cultivated by the ancient Peruvians long before the arrival of the Spaniards. Manco Ccapac, the first Inca, established a fort in a ravine, a few miles from where the last chain of the Andes descends abruptly to the tropical valleys, called Paucar-tambo, or the "Inn of the flowery meadow;" and one of his successors, the Inca Yupanqui, receiving intelligence that far to the eastward there were five rivers which afterwards united, and formed the great Amaru-mayu, determined to explore them. After much resistance from the tribe of wild Indians, called Chunchos, he reached the banks of the great river, and eventually forced the Chunchos to pay tribute. Many of them were induced to settle in a colony, at a place called Tono, where they remained until the conquest of Peru by Pizarro. The Inca then crossed the Amaru-mayu, and penetrated eastward into the country of the Moxos, where he is said to have established another colony.

It is stated by Alvarez Maldonado (who made an expedition into these distant regions shortly after the

conquest), in an old record still preserved at Cuzco, that on the subjugation of the country and dethronement of the Incas, about 40,000 Inca Indians emigrated from Cuzco and its neighbourhood, traversed the valleys of Paucar-tambo, and penetrated east of the Amaru-mayu; that they established themselves in a colony on the banks of a great lake called Paytiti, were governed by a chief called the Apu-Huayri, and were then a great people. These facts are, in all likelihood, the sources whence Sir Walter Raleigh drew his fabulous account of the golden city of Manoa, which was also said to be on a great lake.

The Spaniards were not slow to possess themselves of whatever land had been cultivated by the Incas, in the Montaña, especially at a place called Abisca, an estate which Garcilasso de la Vega tells us once belonged to him.

Extending for about thirty miles from the foot of the Andes, along the banks of its tributaries, to the Madre de Dios or Purus, the valleys were once covered with Spanish farms, large tracts of forest were cleared away with great labour, and crops of coca, cocoa, sugar, and other tropical productions were raised. The names of these farms, long since abandoned and left desolate, have been preserved,* but their positions are now lost in the density of the encroaching forest. Beyond this

* Paucar-bamba.
Agua-tono.
Anti-pampa.
Serilla.
Chamayru.

Naranja-pata.
La Barranca.
Uju-Cancha.
Abisca.
Moxillo.

And six others.

limited tract of country, the Spaniards never penetrated, hemmed in as they were on all sides by the untameable Chunchos, and other wild tribes. In the beginning of the last century, indeed, an exploring expedition was undertaken by a Spanish Captain named Landa, with a party of 500 men. He left the most easterly of the Spanish settlements, in the valleys of Paucar-tambo, crossed a low range of hills, called the Cerros de Piña Piña, and reached the banks of the Purus at a point where its breadth exceeded 200 *varas*. Here he encountered a large body of Chunchos, an independent tribe of savages, who were collected on the other side to dispute his progress.

Their chief, or *Huayri*, crossed over apparently to hold a parley—a tall athletic Indian without a particle of clothing. Suddenly, while Landa made signs of amity, the *Huayri* seized him round the waist, and rushed with him towards the river. In another moment the Spanish Captain would have been plunged headlong into the stream, when Ordoñez,* his second in command, sprang forward and stabbed the *Huayri* to the heart. The Spaniards then gave up the enterprise, and returned to Paucar-tambo, thus concluding their only recorded attempt to extend their conquests to the banks of the Purus.

The estates in the valleys of Paucar-tambo, however, continued to prosper during the period of vice-regal power in Peru. From the sale of their coca, chocolate, sugar, and fruits, they are said, at one time, to have

* This account was given me by Don Ramon Ordoñez, the proprietor of the farm of La Cueva, and descendant of Landa's Lieutenant. May, 1853.

yielded a revenue of \$1,000,000, a regiment of soldiers was retained to repel the inroads of wild Indians, and the estates were regularly divided into five *curatos*, or parishes.

As the Spanish power declined, however, the outlying estates of the Montaña began to fall into decay; their once rich proprietors in Cuzco became impoverished; the attacks of the savage Chunchos were more frequent; until at the opening of the War of Independence there were only six estates remaining in the valleys of Paucar-tambo.*

About fifteen years ago Don Sinferoso Ampuero, the spirited owner of the estate of Chaupi-mayu, resided on the spot, and is said to have brought some of the Chunchos under subjection. He took a little girl from one of their tribes, had her baptised by the name of Rosa, and educated as a Christian. This girl, however, so incorrigible is the treachery of her race, murdered her benefactor with arrows, while bathing in the river Tono, and returned to her former savage life; and the Chunchos have ever since been relentless enemies to all strangers.

Three of the remaining estates have since been destroyed by them; and the occupants of the others, few in number, and some of them at various intervals

* Viz. : Cosni-pata meaning the hill of smoke.

*Munay-pata ,, hill of love.

*Huayna-pata ,, hill of youth.

Chaupi-mayu ,, central river.

*Santa Cruz.

San Miguel.

Those marked * have since been abandoned and destroyed.

surprised and murdered, are kept in constant terror for their lives by these savages. Such is the present state of the once flourishing valleys of Paucar-tambo, which are watered by the Purus and its tributaries.

On the 1st of May, 1853, I left the little town of Paucar-tambo, which is forty miles north-east from Cuzco, with the intention of exploring, and collecting information concerning these valleys, and, if possible, penetrating to the banks of the great river Purus.

From the top of a range of mountains above Paucar-tambo, the last of the Andes, where the clouds charged with particles of ice roll along the ground, and snow covers the long grass, the road descends rapidly into the Montaña. In less than half an hour, trees of tropical growth begin to rise on either side of the steep zigzag path, the heat became oppressive, torrents of rain fell continuously, while as the mists at intervals cleared away, hills became visible on every side, clothed with gigantic trees and tangled underwood. After a journey down the mountain of three hours' duration,* I and my mule accomplished the descent, which was eight miles long, and reached the banks of the torrent of Chirimayu, where a little shed had been erected. My guide had deserted me before leaving the snowy heights, and I was now without a companion. It was near sunset when I thus found myself at the entrance of the Montaña. The torrent, descending by a splendid waterfall, at the side of the path, swept by the little level space where the shed was built, and disappeared almost immediately between the spurs of

* The descent was about 11,000 feet.

the hills. From the amphitheatre thus formed, the hills rise up perpendicularly on every side, covered with tangled brushwood, ferns, and creepers of most brilliant colours, while, wherever a projecting point gave room for roots to take hold, the space was occupied by lofty palms and other forest-trees. Towards sunset it ceased raining, and the mist clearing away, presented a scene of unequalled loveliness.

The brilliant and varied colours of the flowers; the splendid butterflies of immense size; the birds of superb plumage flying hither and thither; the humming-birds shaking dew-drops from the bright scarlet salvias; the parrots crowding on the upper branches of the trees; with the sparkling fall of the torrent, combined to form a fairy-like scene of surpassing beauty.

During the night, which was dark as pitch, a fearful storm of thunder and lightning burst over the spot, while in the intervals of the peals, which followed each other in quick succession, every earthly and unearthly yell that can be conceived, entirely prevented all attempts at rest. Tigers roared, monkeys chattered, all the animals of the forest howled and screamed, hissed and bellowed in an unceasing combination of uproar, which was rather appalling to a solitary traveller.

Next morning, passing over a few young trees that had been thrown across the Chirimayu, I continued my journey down a ravine to the eastward, steep hills rising on either side, and a river of some size, formed by the junction of the torrents of the Chirimayu, Yana-

mayu, and some others—now called the Tono, dashing along at some distance below the path. For several leagues the way continued to lead down narrow ravines, whose sides were covered with thick vegetation. Tree-ferns, palms, and enormous forest-trees clothed the mountains to their summits; masses of clouds rolled down their sides, keeping the foliage continually wet; and here and there a beautiful cascade dashed down foaming into the Tono.

On a little level space, seven leagues from the hut on the Chirimayu, the forest had been cleared away, and the small farm of La Cueva established. It consisted only of a hut with two rooms, containing about a dozen Inca Indians from the Andes, two fields of coca, and one of pine-apples.

It was here that I first heard the melancholy notes of a little bird called the *alma perdida*, or lost soul. It is said that an Indian girl left her child in the forest, while she went to collect balsam. On her return, she found the child gone; and her repeated calls to it were only answered by the mournful notes of this little bird, which has since been called the "lost soul." *

About a league further to the eastward, the hills gradually sink lower, and at last subside into one vast plain, covered with forest, which stretches away almost to the horizon. At this point the Pitama unites with the Tono, and forms one large river; and the path enters the plains or valleys of Paucar-tambo, leading

* This was told me by La Señora Ordoñez, the lady of La Cueva.

through a dense and tangled forest, with the Tono flowing a few yards to the left.

Thirty miles through the forest in a north-east direction brings the traveller to the *hacienda*, or farm, of San Miguel, the last settlement in this part of Peru, and the extreme point to which civilisation has yet reached. The way leads through all the beautiful vegetation of the torrid zone. On either side grow palms of great height and beauty, balsam, bark, India-rubber, and many other trees of enormous growth; while the underwood consists of creepers bearing flowers of every shape and colour, and thickets of bamboo with their larger joints six inches in diameter. In many places they were broken, and hung across the path in dense masses, rendering it almost impassable. At each of the joints there are strong little hooks, which seizing hold of my shirt and trowsers, tore them almost to threads in the course of the journey.

Six small streams,* which fall into the Tono, intersect the road, and the view up their courses, bordered as they are by matted forest on either side, is very striking. Birds of every size and colour flew noisily across, from the large wild turkeys, pheasants, and parrots, to the brilliant little finches and humming-birds. On the banks of one of these streams I saw a great heavy tapir, standing partly in the water, in profound meditation.

Beyond the last of these tributaries, the path ascends a steep cliff overhanging the river Tono, called the

* They are named respectively the Malci-mayu, Lucu-mayu, San Juan, Yanatay, Carachi-mayu, Huisiray.

Balcon-pata, whence there is an extensive view of the plains, with the spurs of the Andes, partly hidden in clouds to the westward, and a range of hills to the north-east, but in every other direction the forest stretched away to the horizon.

A mile further on, travelling along higher and more open ground, are the remains of the two farms of Huayna-pata and Santa Cruz. The former was attacked a few years ago by the savage Chunchos, and every individual belonging to it murdered; the latter has been deserted by its occupants, who dreaded a similar fate.

At Santa Cruz some of the buildings were still standing, but of Huayna-pata there was not a vestige remaining. Large fields of coca, and plantations of cocoa and pine-apples, were rapidly becoming choked and overrun by the encroaching forest, and presented a melancholy spectacle of the retreat of civilisation before the returning tide of savage life. In a few years large trees will have grown up in every direction, and no trace will be left of these once flourishing estates.

A few miles to the eastward of this desolate scene, is the farm of San Miguel, which I reached in the evening of the 6th of May, 1853. San Miguel, one of the extreme outworks of civilisation in South America, consists of a number of comparatively comfortable huts forming three sides, and a long wooden building forming the fourth side of a square, which is planted with fine orange and citron trees.

It is situated on high ground, in a healthy spot,

tolerably free from mosquitos, near the river Tono ; with fields of coca and corn attached to it, but otherwise hemmed in by the forest.

The inhabitants consisted of Indians from the Andes, with a few women, and Don Pedro Gil, the *Administrador*. A Friar also, a missionary who had been four years in the Montaña, resided at San Miguel. Fray Julian Bovo de Revello was a Piedmontese, and a Carmelite, who, after a long residence in Palestine and Chilé, had now devoted his energies to the conversion of the Chunchos. He was a noble-looking man of commanding presence, very tall, broad-shouldered, with a massive bald head, and handsome features ; and was dressed in the habit of his order.

He had suffered much from attacks of vampires during the night, a thirsty kind of bat that had taken much blood from his elbows and bald head. They also took a good deal from my foot, during my stay at San Miguel.

The ants also had committed havoc among the few books the Friar had with him.

The long building, forming one side of the square, was the dwelling-house of Don Pedro Gil and the Friar. Its furniture consisted of a long table, rough benches, and places for beds in the walls like berths on board ship. The worthy inmates were living in a primitive style, without candles or any substitute for them except two lumps of fat, which the good Father Revello only used for saying mass. Their food consisted almost entirely of *chuñus*, or preserved potatoes, which are first soaked in water, and then pressed and frozen on

the elevated plains of the Andes. They form, with a little fruit, the only nourishment of the people of San Miguel.

The yard for drying the leaves of the coca-plant, which are laid out on mats, is at the back of the building. The soil is so productive that four harvests of coca-leaves are yielded annually, which sell at Cuzco for \$5 the arroba. San Miguel produces about 3000 arrobas of coca a year; and a small quantity of cocoa and fruits, which are sent up periodically to Paucar-tambo on mules, whose freight is \$3 a journey. The pay of Indian labourers is two rials a day, and, when working with a hoe or cleaning, three rials. At San Miguel also there is an establishment for collecting India-rubber, belonging to Don Manuel Ugalde, an enterprising young Quiteño artist, living at Cuzco. It consists of eight or nine Indians who go out weekly into the forests and search for the India-rubber tree. They usually return with several *ypas*, or joints of bamboo, about three feet high and four inches in diameter, filled with the juice. These *ypas*, which have a large hook, used as a handle, at one end, also serve for buckets and pitchers.

About a mile from San Miguel, and nearer the banks of the Tono, was the farm of Chaupi-mayu, in a ruinous and dilapidated condition, and probably by this time either deserted or destroyed.

To the southward, about twelve miles from San Miguel, near a river of the same name, is the farm of Cosni-pata, the most flourishing of the three. It produces, besides coca, cocoa, and maize, about

3000 arrobas of rice, which sells at Cuzco for \$3 the arroba.*

These three estates of San Miguel, Chaupi-mayu, and Cosni-pata alone remain of all those which flourished in the time of Spanish power in the valleys of Paucar-tambo. One by one they have disappeared, either through the ravages of the Chunchos, or the poverty and want of energy of their owners; and at the present time, to the shame of the Peruvian government, this rich and fertile country may be cited as one point, at least, where civilisation is decidedly receding before the attacks of a handful of untamed Indians.

The Chunchos, or savage aborigines of these valleys, lead a wandering life, and are thinly scattered over a broad extent of country. In the neighbourhood of the farms there are two tribes, one called the Huachipayris, inhabiting the banks of the river Cosni-pata; and the other, the Tuyuneris, who wander along the Tono and its affluents.

They are fierce, cruel, ill-favoured, and untameable, hating every stranger to the death. They wander about through the dense forest by tracks impassable to and unknown by any one but themselves, perfectly naked, and armed with bows and arrows.

Their arrows are of two kinds: one is made of the hard wood of the chonta-palm, and jagged like a saw; the other is pointed with a piece of bamboo, which is very neatly secured by a seizing of twine; and the feathers, fixed spirally into the shaft, are usually chosen from birds of the most brilliant plumage.

* General Miller says that in 1835 the two estates of Chaupi-mayu and Cosni-pata yielded 1500 arrobas of coca (350 cwt.)

They live, many families together, in a long narrow hut, in shape like the roof of a house,* and generally have a small plantation of almonds and bananas cleared away near it. Their food consists principally of monkeys, birds, bananas, and fish which they kill in the rivers with their bows and arrows.

The *ypa*, or joint of the bamboo, serves them for a water jug; and, when green, is used to boil their fish in.

As is the case amongst all savage tribes, the women of the Chunchos are treated cruelly, and perform all the hard work. It is even said that they have to keep *watch and watch* during the night, and that while one wife rests by her husband's side, on a sort of raised bench, the other has to move a burning brand about underneath to keep him warm.

It is no matter of wonder that, under such treatment, a race of Amazons, whose existence has been so often doubted, should have arisen. Orellana, in 1541, declared that he was opposed by female warriors; and Acuña constantly heard of them in his voyage down the great river which bears their name. They were said to trade with the Guacaras, but to be at war with every other Indian tribe. They mated with them once a year, and, on their departure, the Guacaras took away the boys of the preceding season, while the Amazons retained the girls. M. Condamine was told at Coari, that these female warriors came down the

* One described by General Miller, who passed a night in it in 1835, was 100 feet long, 40 broad, and 6 feet high. It belonged to a *Huayri*, or chief of the Huachipayris.

river Purus in a body, and migrated up the Rio Negro towards Guiana. Acuña, Condamine, Humboldt, and Mr. Southey,* all believed in the probability of their existence, and tradition points up the Purus to the hunting-grounds of the Chunchos as the place of their origin.

Little more is known of the habits of the Chunchos, and next to nothing of their language or ideas of religion.

Father Bovo de Revello has as yet been quite unsuccessful in his attempts to hold any communication with them ; and he has, therefore, been obliged to confine his sphere of usefulness, for the present, to the laborers of the farms.

In 1850 he started on an expedition to examine the river Purus. Crossing the Tono near San Miguel, the Ccescenti, and the Piña-piña, a large river which falls into the Tono, he ascended a range of hills, whence he had a glorious view of the mighty river he was in search of, flowing on silently to the Amazon. Here his provisions failed him, having lived for some days on wild bananas, and he was forced to return to San Miguel.

Father Revello, who is an enthusiastic explorer, has

* Humboldt's Narrative, v. p. 387-94. Southey's Hist. of Brazil, p. 697.

Sir Robert Schomburgk reports that all the Caribs believe in a tribe of Amazons in Guiana, near the head-waters of the Corantyn. He found none, however, on the Trombetas, where tradition had placed them, and where M. Montravel, in 1844, heard that they still existed ; and he treats the whole thing as a fable. Mr. Wallace thinks that Orellana and others mistook the young men with long hair, ear-drops, and necklaces, for female warriors.

recorded his views in a pamphlet called "El Brillante Porvenir del Cuzco," in which he shows that the great river which he saw, was identical with the Purus; and he points out the splendid destiny which its navigation may some day open for Cuzco, and the whole interior of Peru.

In September, 1851, Lieut. Gibbon, U.S.N., penetrated into the valleys of Paucar-tambo, reached the banks of the Cosnipata, and had a view of the Madre de Dios; but the difficulties opposed to his progress proving insurmountable, he retraced his steps and eventually descended the Madeira to the Amazon.

In June of the following year, however, another exploring expedition was equipped by the young men of Paucar-tambo, under the auspices of Don Manuel Ugalde. They embarked on the river Tono, near the farm of San Miguel, in two India-rubber boats, and commenced its descent. But this enterprise came to a sudden and unfortunate conclusion, for, at the point where the three great rivers of Tono, Piña-piña, and Cosnipata unite to form the Madre de Dios, the stream is very rapid, and the banks steep and rocky; and here, through inexperience or mismanagement, both the boats were capsized, and the adventurers with difficulty escaped to the shore, abandoning the expedition.

While at San Miguel I received much information of all that is known of this country from the excellent Father Revello, and went with him some distance to the eastward of that farm.

At a place about two miles from it, which he had

called La Constancia, on the margin of a little stream, the good father had cleared away a space of ground, and planted yucas and other vegetables. This was the scene of the last murder committed by the Chunchos on a young monk from Cuzco, a companion of Revello. The father had returned one evening, in April 1853, to San Miguel, leaving his young friend at work at La Constancia. To his great alarm, the monk never returned that night, and in the morning Revello found his body pierced with nine arrows, one of them actually passing right through his chest. These murders are of frequent occurrence, committed apparently out of mere wantonness, for the bodies are seldom robbed. Suddenly a shower of arrows flies from amongst the trees, and the wretched traveller or muleteer is transfixed without even seeing his cruel and cowardly assassin. When working in the fields, the men are obliged to keep watchers armed with muskets constantly on the look-out.

I reached a hill beyond La Constancia, after a struggling and tedious journey through the dense forest, whence I obtained a view of the Madre de Dios, at this point near a hundred yards broad, and this was the extreme point of my journey. The latitude I found to be $12^{\circ} 45' S.$, and the longitude about $70^{\circ} 30' W.$, 103 miles from Cuzco, and 740 from the mouth of the Purus. Near this point the Tono, with all its affluents from the south-east, the Cosnipata from the south, and the Piña-piña from the north-east, having drained the wide forests of Paucar-tambo, unite, and form that mighty river which I saw from a distance, and which is

here called the Madre de Dios, or Amaru-mayu river, evidently the same as the Purus.

About a hundred miles further down, the Purus receives two great rivers, the Arasa from the Montaña of Marcapata, and the Ynambari from the rich and extensive province of Caravaya, famous for its gold-washing, and for producing the best-known quality of Peruvian bark.

Several circumstances tend to authorise the belief that the Purus has no great obstructions in its course, as is the case with the Madeira and other tributaries of the Amazon.

Among these may be urged its distance from the Andes on one side, and from the mountains of Brazil on the other ; the immense size of its tributaries ; and, above all, the lately ascertained fact that two of its affluents actually communicate with the Madeira, thus proving the very slight elevation of the intervening land, and justifying the inference that no rapids impede the navigation of this as yet unexplored river.*

The Purus empties itself into the Amazon by four mouths, at a point where the breadth of that queen of rivers is nearly three leagues. These mouths are

* The above information was obtained by Lieut. Herndon, U.S.N., in his late voyage down the Amazon, from a Brazilian at Barra, Serephem by name, who had been for some years in the habit of collecting cargoes of sarsaparilla and copaiba balsam on the lower waters of the Purus.

He stated that fifteen days up the Purus was the mouth of the Parana. pishuna, which, by a succession of lakes, communicated with the Madeira ; and fifteen days further up was a river called the Mucuin, which, after a tedious voyage of a month, also connects itself with the Madeira.

Senhor Serephem, in his last voyage up the Purus, collected 225 pots of copaiba, and 150 arrobas of sarsaparilla.

called the bars of Camara, of San Thome, and of Cuiuana; and the most easterly one, which is the main stream of the Purus, is calculated by Smyth to be half a mile wide.

Here the French geographer Condamine, in 1745, sounded in 103 fathoms, finding no bottom; and Smyth found the depth of the Amazon about this point, and from Coari to Barra, to be 25 fathoms.

Such is a brief account of all that is known of the great river Purus, the principal affluents of which, and the beautiful country through which they flow, I had the gratification of exploring in the winter of 1853.

It is impossible to believe that the grand river system of South America is for ever destined to remain useless, the abode merely of the untamed savage, and the fierce jaguar; and that these broad fluvial highways, through thousands of miles of territory of unequalled fertility, will not soon be traversed by the fleets of enterprising traders.

If once the Purus is thoroughly explored, the effect it would have on the industry and future prospects of Peru are quite incalculable. A route would be opened, which would shorten the distance to Europe by one-half; the hazardous journey across the Cordilleras, and the long voyage round Cape Horn, would be avoided; and the varied productions of the mountains and forests of the rich land of the Incas would be wafted by a direct and easy channel to the Old World.*

* Lieut. Smyth gives it as his opinion that "of all the unexplored streams which fall into the Marañon, the Purus appears to be by far the most deserving of attention."—*R. G. S. Journal*, vol. vi. p. 13.

The mere mention of a few of the abundant products yielded by the Peruvian Montaña, in spontaneous plenty, and without cultivation, will at once show the return its commerce would make to the bold merchant adventurer.

The inestimable Peruvian bark * is only gathered in these forests; trees of India rubber are met with at every turn, while gum copal, vanilla, indigo, copaiba balsam, cinnamon, sarsaparilla, ipecacuanha,† and vegetable wax may be procured without trouble, and in every direction. Add to this the abundance of animal food of every description, the fish of all kinds which swarm in the rivers, and the magnificent timber ready at hand for building, for ornamental purposes, or for fuel; and it will be seen, without mentioning the numerous gold-washings, that the trade along the rivers of the Montaña will some day be enormous.

Already are the enterprising spirits of the New World turning their attention to this important subject. Treaties for the navigation of the Amazon, and the exploration of its great tributaries, have been entered into between Brazil and most of the Spanish Republics; a monopoly of the navigation has been granted to an eminent Brazilian named De Souza for thirty years, who already runs four steamers up and

* The bark of Carabaya is said to be the best. That from the Yungus, in Bolivia, is perhaps gathered in the greatest quantities. It is calculated that 14,000 quintals per annum pass through the city of La Paz, on its way to the sea-port of Arica. Its value at Arica is from \$80 to \$100 a quintal.

† In the Brazilian province of Matto Grosso, on the sources of the Madeira, there is a constant harvest of ipecacuanha. Between 1830 and 1837, 800,000 lbs. of it were exported. Sold in Rio de Janeiro at a dollar a pound.

down the Amazon between Barra and Para;* and two small steamers, built at New York, have lately passed up the river, as far as the Peruvian port of Loreto.

This line of steamers once established, the boundless fertility of the Peruvian plains will soon induce many a bold adventurer to explore and settle on the banks of the great rivers which water them; and the valleys of Paucar-tambo will once more be peopled by active emigrants.

A list has been given of some of the commercial products of the primæval forests; but when to these are added tobacco, sugar, coffee, cotton, and chocolate superior in quality to that of Venezuela or Guayaquil, which may be cultivated in the plains of Paucar-tambo, and

* A fluvial treaty between Brazil and Peru was signed Oct. 23, 1851. By Art. 1. All merchandise passing between the two states, on the Amazon, is exempted from all duty. Art. 2. Each country agrees to give \$20,000 annually as a bonus to any steam company that should undertake to navigate the river.

August 30th, 1852, the Emperor of Brazil granted Ireneo Evangelista de Souza the exclusive privilege of navigating the Amazon for 30 years, with a bonus of \$80,000 per annum. The Peruvian Consul General at Rio assented to this arrangement. Meanwhile Don Manuel Tirado, the Peruvian Minister for Foreign Affairs, obtained a grant of \$200,000 from the Consejo de Estado at Lima, for furthering the settlement of the Montaña. He has appropriated \$75,000 to purchase two small steamers, which have been built in the United States, and have arrived at Loreto. They are named the *Tirado* and the *Huallaga*.

On the 5th of April, 1853, General Echenique, the late President of Peru, issued a decree on the settlement of the Peruvian banks of the Amazon and its tributaries, by which Loreto and Nauta are opened to foreign commerce, and no duties are to be imposed at the said ports excepting for purely local purposes. The Governor of Loreto is empowered to make grants of land to settlers of from two to forty *fanegadas*; and settlers are exempted from all taxes for twenty years. It is to be hoped that General Castilla, the present ruler of Peru, will continue to encourage settlers.

yield abundant harvests; besides the silver, copper, saltpetre, and alpaca wool from the Sierra, which would pass to Europe by this route, in preference to the long voyage round the Horn; it cannot be doubted that the trade of the river Purus will yield ample return, in a few years, for the energy and capital of those who shall embark on this new field of industry and enterprise.

In looking forward, however, to the glories of a brightening future, it is right that a tribute of admiration and praise should be paid to those great men who were the pioneers of science and Christianity in the wild montaña of Peru.

No praise can do adequate justice to such characters as Father Samuel Fritz in the last century, and Plaza and Revello in our own time; for by labouring with untiring devotion, without the ambition or the expectation of having their names recorded among the great of this world, they have placed themselves far above those who pursue the paths of worldly distinction, regarding the heroic devotion of the missionary or the man of science as Quixotic and useless.*

"We fools accounted his life madness, and his end to be without honour."

"How is he numbered among the children of God, and his lot is among the saints!"

The heroes of the Amazon, the Yucayali, and the Purus sought for no honours, no remuneration in this

* In such terms do men now speak of the expedition of Sir John Franklin for the discovery of a north-west passage, and of other heroic enterprises of a like nature.

world. Superior to the soldier in not being attracted by pay or the praise of his fellow-men ; and to the mere servant of mammon who penetrates to the hidden places of the earth in search of gain ; they laboured with equal zeal, passed through equal dangers and greater hardships, and suffered every misfortune with more cheerful endurance, without the hopes which buoy up those who have praise and rewards to look forward to, in the midst of their difficulties.

Who then will not acknowledge that the leaders of science and civilisation into the unknown parts of the world, with heroic courage and enduring bravery ; the Cooks, the Parks, the Franklins, and the La Perouses, are serving in a higher cause than the soldier or the merchant ; and when, without reward or hope of acknowledgment, such men as Plaza and Revello in South America, or as Livingston in Africa, go forth alone into unknown and savage wilds to spread the truths of Christianity, while at the same time they give an important though secondary place to the advancement of science and geographical knowledge ; a debt of admiration and gratitude is due to them, which it is true they ask not for, and which it is to be feared will never be conceded, while the world prefers the hero of a battle to the explorer of a continent ; and the search for glory, to the spread of science for the advancement of mankind and the honour of God.*

* P. S. The Peruvian newspapers of August, September, and October, 1855, have been full of articles and letters, urging on the Government the necessity of exploring and colonising the Montaña. One is especially worthy of notice, for its eloquence and earnest language, from the pen of the excellent Bishop of Chachapoyas (*Commercio*. Lima, 1855).

CHAPTER IX.

LIMA.

THE SPANISH VICEROYS.

As Cuzco is the centre of Indian tradition, and of associations connected with an ancient and ruined civilisation ; so Lima may be said to represent the old Spanish power, which is also now passed away, while it is equally the seat of the modern republican government.

Here those stately grandees resided in regal pomp, who ruled, with delegated authority, nearly the whole of South America ; and it is in Lima that unnumbered ruinous revolutions, since the independence of Peru, have proved how unsuited is a republican government to the genius of her people.

But nearly everything at Lima, even at the present day, except the Parisian dresses of the inhabitants, reminds the traveller rather of the viceregal times, than of the present state of things.

In the great square, the cathedral, with a façade painted red and yellow ; with three green doors and lath and plaster towers at each angle, was built in the time of the Viceroy ; when its altars groaned under the weight of magnificent silver furniture, long since seized upon by the needy republic. The mean-looking

palace, with its basement used as small shops, was also once used by the representatives of his Catholic Majesty; and the handsome stone fountain in the centre of the square, surmounted by a bronze statue of Fame, was erected by order of the Viceroy Count of Salvatierra, in 1653. The other two sides of the square consist of private houses, with arcades filled with shops beneath, and balconies concealed by old Moorish-looking trellised jalousies on the upper story.

The long straight streets running at right angles, and diverging from the great square, have an appearance of age and solemnity contrasting strongly with the modern dresses of the passengers. The houses, for the most part, have no windows towards the street; the smaller ones in the poorer districts, being represented by a door with a glass lantern hanging over it, in a plaster wall. Of the larger houses, nothing is seen but great folding-doors, opening into the street, which lead to the *patio* or court-yard, surrounded by walls often painted with frescoes; and facing the street doorway is the *sala* or principal reception-room. Through the centre of the streets, running parallel with the river, flow small *azequias* or streams used as open drains; and along their margins, crowds of disgusting turkey-buzzards, huge black naked-headed carrion crows, act as scavengers for the lazy inhabitants.

From the great square, a street leads to the river Rimac, which is crossed by a fine stone bridge, built by order of the Viceroy, Marquis of Montes Claras, in 1613; and in the suburb of San Lazaro, on

the opposite side, there are two agreeable *alamedas*, or avenues of double rows of straight willow-trees, one along the banks of the river leading to the bull-ring, which was erected by the Viceroy Don Manuel Amat, about 1770. The quaint old theatre, now used as an Italian opera, with its box-doors opening on to a gallery in the open air, is also a vestige of viceregal times. Every public building, indeed, dates from the time of the Spanish rule. All the churches, with their frail but picturesque towers, the cloisters, and the hospitals, were founded by Spaniards. The wall round the town was built by the Duke of la Palata, in 1685 ; the bridge over the Rimac, the fountain in the square, the *alamedas* and bull-ring, and the theatre, were erected by Viceroys. The Viceroy Abascal founded the Pantheon outside the town, and the College of Surgeons. The Council of State of the Republican Government holds its sittings in the old Court of the Inquisition, and the Chamber of Deputies in the chapel of the Spanish University of St. Mark.

In short, all the public and nearly all the private houses in Lima, though built of adobes, with partition-walls of cane covered with plaster, date from the time of the Viceroys ; and even the great unfinished artificial lake in the suburb of San Lazaro, commenced by the Viceroy Amat, remains untouched by the Republicans. It would seem as if the touch of a democratic and anarchical independence had paralysed improvement, which was, in all conscience, slow enough, even in the viceregal times.

Although founded by Pizarro, on the feast of

Epiphany, 1535, and for that reason frequently called the City of Kings, fifteen years elapsed before Lima assumed the appearance of an important seat of government. Torn by the civil wars of the Pizarros and Almagros, the Alvarados and Girons, it was long before the land of the Incas settled down into the silence of a delegated despotism, and became the victim of the firmly established power of Spain.

At last, when the President la Gasca had conquered Gonsalo Pizarro and returned to Spain, a peaceful viceroy arrived in Peru, sprung from one of the noblest families of the peninsula.

This was Don Antonio de Mendoza, a great-grandson of the Marquis of Santillana, the charming poet and renowned warrior of the court of John II., who claimed the Cid, as the founder of his family. Don Antonio died in 1551, after a very brief enjoyment of his power; but from this date, during the whole period of the rule of kings of the Austrian House, the Peruvian Viceroyalty was always filled by members of the greatest families of Spain.

After an interregnum of some years, when the unfortunate country was torn by the civil wars of the rebel Giron; the Marquis of Cañete, another scion of the house of Mendoza, arrived at Lima as Viceroy, in 1559. He it was who rendered the city of Lima an inestimable service by the foundation of the hospital of San Andres, whose courtyard shortly afterwards became classic ground, as the place of interment of three of the most illustrious of the Incas. Their bodies had been discovered by the Spaniards when

spoiling the fair city of Cuzco, and were removed by order of the Marquis of Cañete, to Lima.

The three bodies of the Incas, together with those of two of their wives, were in perfect preservation. One was that of Viracocha, whose hair was white as snow; the second was Tupac Yupanqui, his grandson; and the third was the great Inca Huayna Ccapac. The women were Mama Runtu, wife of Viracocha, and Coya Mama Ocllo, the mother of Huayna Ccapac.* They wore their dresses as when living, with the llautu or fringe around their heads, and their hands crossed upon their breasts. The bodies were borne through the streets of Lima, covered with white cloth; crowds of Indians saluted them reverently with tears and groans, and even the haughty Spaniards doffed their caps. The remains of these once powerful monarchs were interred in the courtyard of the hospital of San Andres, in the year 1562.

The Marquis of Cañete's two immediate successors were Lope Garcia de Castro, who introduced the Jesuits into Peru; and Don Francisco de Toledo, whose memory is rendered infamous by the murder of Tupac Amaru, the last of the Incas, but who is praised by his monkish biographers as a patron of literature, and a devout Catholic.†

In 1590 another Marquis of Cañete, of the great house of Mendoza, arrived at Lima; and during

* Garcilasso de la Vega, lib. v. c. xxix.

† He entertained Charles V. when retiring from the world, at the seat of his brother the Count of Oropesa, at Xarandilla, and was present at that monarch's death at St. Justus. He was afterwards ambassador at the Council of Trent.

his government the power of Spain and her colonies may be said to have been at its height. Drake and Cavendish had previously ventured on predatory cruises into the Pacific ; but when Sir Richard Hawkins appeared on the Peruvian coast, a Spanish fleet forced him to retire ; which, on returning to Callao without having captured him, was received with dissatisfaction, and the ladies of Lima went in a body to the Viceroy's levée, and offered themselves to lead the ships against the English pirates.

Sailing a second time under the command of Don Beltran de la Cueva, a brother-in-law of the Viceroy, and son of the Count of Lemos, the English vessel was engaged, and Hawkins taken prisoner.

Elated with this naval victory, the Marquis sent forth several voyages of discovery into the Pacific. Mandana called a group of islands the Marquesas, in honour of the Viceroy, and his pilot Quiros, sailing from Callao in 1603, is said to have discovered Tahiti.

All parts of the world were visited by the adventurous arms of Spain ; and well might the conquerors of the New World exclaim—

“Quæ regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris !”

Two other nobles of this great Spanish family filled the office of Viceroys of Peru ; the Marquis of Montes Claras, who built the bridge at Lima ; and the Count of Chinchon, from 1629 to 1639, whose lady was one of the first persons who was cured of an illness by the Jesuits' or Peruvian bark.

The Mendozas are famous in every field of honour,

and few families in Europe can boast so many distinguished men.

In war they were found at St. Quentin, at Pavia, at Tunis, in the Spanish Armada; while one of them founded Buenos Agres. In peace there were bishops, viceroys in Peru and Mexico, dramatists, and mathematicians, ambassadors, and statesmen, who boasted of the name of Mendoza; and in modern times this noble house is represented by the Dukes of Infantado.

The great family of Henriquez supplied three viceroys to Peru, Don Martin from 1583 to 1590, the Count of Alba de Liste from 1635 to 1661, a grandee of Spain, and ancestor of the present empress of the French; and the Count of Castellar from 1674 to 1678.* The latter viceroy was once summoned before the inquisition at Lima, and attended at the proper hour. He, however, quietly informed the inquisitors that if he was not liberated within twenty minutes, his guards had orders to open fire upon the building. As may be supposed, he was bowed out with great respect.

The house of Henriquez possessed the office of Hereditary Admirals of Castille, and was connected by marriage with the Count of Santiestevan, who was viceroy of Peru from 1638 to 1645.

The viceroys Conde de Nieva and Count of Monterey, from 1604 to 1607, belonged to the noble house of Zuñiga; and the latter was father-in-law to the famous Count Duke of Olivarez.

From 1615 to 1622, Don Francisco de Borja and

* He was recalled for allowing Chinese silks, and other merchandise, to be imported into Peru.

Aragon, Prince of Esquilache, was viceroy of Peru. He was the most illustrious in birth, talent, and virtue, that ever held the reins of government during the times of Spanish domination in that unfortunate country.

Thus it has been seen, that from the period of the conquest to the war of succession and the final expulsion of the Austrian dynasty from Spain, the viceregal power in Peru was almost exclusively held by the princely Spanish houses of Mendoza, Toledo, Henriquez, Castro, Zuñiga, and Borja.*

At an immense distance from the mother country, and ruling at one time nearly the whole of South America, including the present republics of Venezuela, New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, Bolivia, and La Plata, the court of the viceroys was surrounded by regal pomp and magnificence.

On their arrival in Peru, an ambassador was dispatched to Lima to announce their approach, and preparations on a scale of profuse extravagance were made

* Viceroys of Peru, from 1550 to the War of the Succession :—

MENDOZAS AND THEIR RELATIONS.

- 1551. Don A. de Mendoza.
- 1559. Marquis of Cañete.
- 1590. Marquis of Cañete.
- 1607. Marquis of Montes Claras.
- 1639. Marquis of Mancera.
- 1667. Count of Lemos.
- 1689. Count of Moncloa.

CASTROS.

- 1569. Lope Garcia de Castro.
- 1667. Count of Lemos

TOLEDOS.

- 1581. Don Francisco de Toledo.
- 1639. Marquis of Mancera.

HENRIQUEZ.

- 1583. Don Martin Henriquez.
- 1635. Count of Alba de Liste.
- 1661. Count of Santiestevan.
- 1674. Count of Castellar.

ZUÑIGA.

- 1591. Count of Nieva.
- 1604. Count of Monterey.

BORJA.

- 1615. Prince of Esquilache.

to receive them. The old viceroy met the new one at a little place called La Legua, where there is a small chapel, on the road between Lima and Callao; and, alighting from his carriage, presented the staff of office to his successor. A few days afterwards a splendid procession was formed, consisting of all the great dignitaries of the land, to conduct the new viceroy into Lima. On the arrival of the Duke of La Palata, in 1681, it is said that the streets through which he passed were paved with ingots of gold and silver.

The palace in the great square of Lima was, in point of external appearance, scarcely a fit abode for the great viceroy of Peru. In the interior were three grand reception rooms, one for the general levée, hung round with portraits of all the viceroys; another for more private audiences; and a third, in which were the portraits of the reigning king and queen of Spain, for the reception of ladies. The viceroy was attended by a body-guard, in a uniform of blue turned up with red, and embroidered with silver; and a corps of halberdiers, formed by the viceroy Don Antonio Mendoza, in blue coats and red waistcoats embroidered with gold, attended in the reception rooms.

Next in authority to the viceroy was the royal audience, consisting of eight *oidores* or judges, and a fiscal, from whose decisions there was no appeal. Beneath them in rank was the corregidor, the regidores or aldermen, and the *alcaldes* or justices of the peace. But the Church held a vast amount of irresponsible power, almost independent of the viceroy. The Church of

Rome had been early introduced into the New World, with all its magnificent ceremonies, and in a short time the immense number of monasteries and convents that rose up in every direction, and the crowds that flocked into them, almost exceed belief. But the government of the church in the colonies was on a very different footing from that of the mother country; the pope had in reality no power over the South American clergy; Julius II. and Alexander III. granted the disposal of ecclesiastical benefices to the crown of Spain, and even the papal bulls could not be promulgated in the Indies without the consent of the council at Seville; so that the King of Spain was virtually the head of the church in South America.

The high dignitaries were all appointed at home, while the patronage of the less lucrative benefices was left in the hands of the viceroys and governors.

The archbishops of Lima ranked next to the viceroys, and filled his post during his absence from the capital. Their palace is a handsome building in the great square, by the side of the cathedral, remarkable for its height in proportion to the surrounding buildings. The first archbishop, Don Geronimo de Loazsa, acted a conspicuous part in the conquest of Peru and the civil broils that followed it; but by far the most famous one was Don Toribio de Mogrovejo, a man celebrated for his piety and learning, who convened a great provincial council in 1582,* and at his death was made a

* There were present at the Council, San Toribio of Lima, who presided, and the Bishops of Cuzco, Quito, Tucuman, Chuquisaca, Imperial, Santiago de Chil , Buenos Ayres, and Panama.

saint. At this period another Spanish saint, named Francisco de Solano, flourished in Peru, and the archbishop San Toribio confirmed a holy maiden, who was afterwards canonised as the famous Santa Rosa de Lima.

The patroness of Peru was born in Lima on the 20th of April, 1586, of honest parents, but in poor circumstances, and with a large family. She displayed a supernatural amount of holiness, we are told, from her earliest childhood; and, on one occasion, when a lady brought her a wreath of flowers, she chose out the thorny ones from among them, and while others were admiring her beauty, she was meditating on the agony of her Saviour. At the early age of five, and against the wish of her mother, she consecrated herself, soul and body to her Saviour, and took an oath of perpetual celibacy, another never to eat meat, and a third to follow the rules and life of the illustrious St. Catherine of Sienna.

When she had reached the age of fifteen, she was examined by six theologians appointed by the archbishop of Lima, who came to the somewhat unscriptural conclusion that she had never once departed from the

The Council sat from 1582 to 1604, and was approved by the Pope in 1610. It was the largest and most important Christian council ever held in South America.

De Pauw says that it was debated, with much violence, by these sapient bishops, whether the Indians of Peru had sufficient reasoning power to be admitted to the sacraments of the Church. Several persisted in refusing them the right, declaring that they were too stupid to understand its nature.—“*Recherches Philosophiques sur les Américains*,” par M. de Pauw, vol. i. p. 36. This author, who is blindly prejudiced against all natives of the new world, published his work in 1768. It has lately excited the wrath of a Peruvian author, as well it may.

right path. She, after this, entered the third order of St. Dominic (that of St. Catherine), and never ceased to exhort the priests to go forth and seek martyrdom among the wild heathen of the montaña. On one occasion, when a Dutch squadron was reported off Callao, she fervently prayed that they might take and pillage Lima, in order that she might obtain the honour of martyrdom, a petition which, to say the least of it, was extremely selfish. Having performed many miracles, she died on the 24th of August, 1617; and the viceroy prince of Esquilache, the archbishop, and all the dignitaries of Lima followed her to the grave.

At the instigation of Cardinal Azzolini, she was proclaimed a saint by Clement IX. and her canonisation was completed by Pope Clement X. in 1671.* The 26th of August was selected for her festival throughout the Christian world, and it has ever since been celebrated at Lima by a splendid procession. In the church of St. Dominic, whose tall graceful tower is one of the most picturesque objects in Lima, there is a white marble statue of this patron saint of Peru, in a reclining position, by the side of the high altar.

Peru has supplied one other saint to the Roman calendar, in the person of San Martin de Poras, a dominican monk, and a negro, who is always represented with a broom in one hand, and a pile of bread in the other, indicative, it is to be supposed, of his cleanliness and charity.

But considering the innumerable swarms of clergy, both secular and regular, who congregated in Lima,

* "*Vida de Santa Rosa de Lima.*" Valladolid, 1828.

and in all the large towns of Peru, during the viceregal times, four saints is by no means a large average number to have produced, and as a body, it must be confessed, that the people of Lima were never very remarkable for their saintly qualities.

Besides the cathedral, and the church of St. Dominic, the most remarkable religious edifices of Lima, are the Monastery of St. Francis, founded in 1536, and covering an immense extent of ground near the banks of the Rimac, with a fine church and magnificent cloisters; the Monasteries of St. Augustine and of the Mercedarios, with conspicuous single towers; and the Church of St. Peter, painted red, with green window frames, and two towers.*

It was not long after the conquest before the inquisition, that fearful engine of the despotic power of Spain, was established in Peru. It is a mistake to suppose that the inquisition was a Popish institution in all its bearings. It was peculiarly a Spanish insti-

* Besides the above, there are thirteen convents of nuns in Lima of :—

No. of Nuns.	Founded	No. of Nuns.	Founded
28. Encarnacion . . .	1561	15. Carmen alto (no shoes) .	1643
25. Concepcion . . .	1573	19. Trinidad (no shoes) . .	1682
24. Trinidad . . .	1579	24. Santa Rosa (Dominicans)	1708
23. St. Joseph (wear no shoes)	1603	17. Jesus Maria (Capuchins)	1713
33. Santa Clara . . .	1608	17. Nazarines (no shoes) .	1730
25. Santa Catalina . . .	1624	15. Mercedarias (no shoes) .	1734
11. Prado (no shoes) . .	1640		

Also the four Beaterias, or houses for holy women who do not make vows :—of Concepcion, founded 1670; Santa Rosa, 1680; Patrocinio, 1688; and Copacabana, 1692.

Altogether, there are 56 churches and chapels in Lima; all, I believe, founded in the time of the viceroys; five of them have been suppressed by the republican Government; one converted into a railway station, another into a meat market, &c.

tution, at least in its worst and most fearful form ; and while the Spaniards used it as a cloak to the most hideous enormities, the Popes were often to be found expostulating against the cruelties it perpetrated.

While Manrique and Torquemada were burning their hundreds of heretics, we find Sixtus IV. ordering the former to cease the persecution of several individuals, and recommending moderation ; Pius IV. interceding in favour of Carranza, the archbishop of Toledo, an aged prelate who had closed the eyes of Charles V., and was now accused of holding Lutheran doctrines ; and Gregory XIII. erecting, at Rome, a monument to the praise of the same prelate. The inquisition was not so much a religious as a political institution, used by the Kings of Spain to render themselves absolute, and when, at one time, it pronounced the sale of horses or munitions to France to be heresy, it will hardly be contended that the inquisition was not the tool of the civil power.

The hall of the Inquisition at Lima was a handsome structure, remarkable for the elaborate carving of its oaken roof, and is now used for the sittings of the Republican Council of State. In the Spanish times, the inquisition was presided over by three Inquisitors, and many an unfortunate person was condemned and burnt near the place where now stands the bull-ring, in the suburb of San Lazaro. The Indians were exempted from its jurisdiction in theory, but whether, in practice, this unfortunate and persecuted people always escaped, may be considered as doubtful.

It was only in the beginning of the present century,

and shortly before the commencement of the war of independence, that this fearful tribunal was abolished.*

The cultivation of literature, during the time of the viceroys, though confined by a jealous priesthood, within very narrow limits, made considerable progress, and was advanced by several men of undoubted learning and ability.

The first step towards it was made by the authorities of Lima, who in 1550 sent Fray Tomas de San Martin (afterwards bishop of Chuquisaca) in company with Pedro de la Gasca, the former Governor of Peru, to apply for the erection of a University.

The Emperor Charles V., and his mother Juana, by a decree dated May 12th, 1551, ordered the establishment of a University at Lima, and conceded to it, all the prerogatives enjoyed by that of Salamanca.

Pius V. confirmed the erection of this new abode of learning by a bull of July 25th, 1571, and Dr. Don Gaspar de Meneses became its first Rector. Still the University was without a suitable building, or a site for its foundation; and it was not until 1574 that a piece of ground was purchased, near the parish church of San Marcelo, and the University received the name of St. Mark.

This site being found inconveniently distant from the centre of the city, it was sold; and in 1576 the present building was commenced, near the palace of

* The cells in which its victims were confined, are still shown at Lima. Mr. Stevens ("Travels in South America," 3 vols. London, 1825) gives an interesting account of the destruction of the instruments of torture in 1812, by the enraged populace.

the inquisition. It consists of a courtyard surrounded by a cloister, on the walls of which, frescoes are painted representing the sciences; with doors leading into various lecture rooms, and into the great hall of the University in which are portraits of its principal learned men. The chapel is now used as the chamber for the house of Representatives of the Congress.

The viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo granted 13,000\$ as its fixed income, which then covered the expenses.

The first doctor who graduated in the Lima University was Don Domingo de San Tomas, a Spanish Dominican, whose portrait is still preserved in the great hall. The first graduate born in Peru was Don Juan de Balboa, professor of the Quichua language, and canon of the cathedral.

From this time the progress of the academy was rapid. In 1614, the viceroy, Marquis of Montes-Claros, reformed and added to its statutes, founded a professorship of theology, and another of law; while the chapter established professorships of the Quichua language, of theology, of philosophy, and of medicine.

In 1624, the Prince of Esquilache added to the statutes, the profession of belief in the immaculate conception of the Virgin, a doctrine which is even now considered a novelty in Europe.

This illustrious viceroy, was the highest in rank, and most famous for learning, of any who ruled over Peru. Claiming descent from the royal house of Aragon, from the famous Pope Alexander VI., and

from that Duke of Gandia who became general of the order of Jesuits; he was also connected by marriage, with the imperial house of the Incas of Peru.*

He was a great patron of the University of St. Mark in Lima, and of literature generally; and was himself a poet of some celebrity. Besides the epic entitled "Naples Recovered," recording the conquests of his ancestor Alphonso V. of Aragon, he was the author of many lyrical poems and madrigals, one of which, "To a Nightingale," is mentioned, by Ticknor, as possessed of considerable merit. Returning from Peru, he died at Madrid in 1658.

In 1740, M. Godin, a French savant of European celebrity, who had been attached to the scientific commission for measuring a degree at Quito, became professor of mathematics at St. Mark.†

During the days of Viceregal opulence in Lima, the ceremonies of the University were performed with great pomp and splendour, and a doctor's degree cost at least 6000\$. Of the learned men produced during this period, the most celebrated was Don Pedro de Peralta y Barnuevo, of whom a famous author of the last century thus wrote:—"In Lima resides Dr. Barnuevo, professor

* His cousin, Don Juan Henrique Borgia, married Lorenza, a daughter of Don Martin Loyola, by Beatriz Nusta, a princess of the Inca family, and great granddaughter of the illustrious Inca Huayna Capac.

† M. de Pauw, in his work cited above, declares that the University of St. Mark, at Lima, has produced no one person who was capable of writing even a bad book. He adds, that when M. Godin was Professor of Mathematics there, he did not find one student who understood his lectures.

These statements are indignantly refuted by the author of "*Bosquejo de la Fundacion y Progresos de la Insigne Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima*," &c., which appeared at Lima in November, 1854.

of mathematics, and a great engineer and cosmographer, —a man of whom we cannot speak without admiration, for hardly will there be found in Europe a man of superior talent and erudition. He is master of eighteen languages, and in all these he writes with elegance. He is a profound mathematician, and the royal Academy of Sciences in Paris has recorded several observations of eclipses which he has remitted."

Down to 1773 he published many works,* the most famous of which is a poem entitled "Lima Fundada," noticed by Ticknor in his history of Spanish literature; besides many manuscripts never printed on account of the enormous expense, which has always been the great difficulty of Peruvian writers; and the inconvenience

* Besides the "Lima Fundada," Dr. Barnuevo published:—

1. The Origin of Monsters (a medical treatise).
2. Lima Triumfante.
3. Jupiter Olympus (a poem).
4. The Heroic Theatre.
5. Address on his Election, as Rector of the University at Lima.
6. Panegyric on the Viceroy Prince of Santo Bono.
7. Astronomical Observations (in Latin).
8. Panegyric on Cardinal Alberoni (a poem).
9. Temple of Fame Vindicated.
10. Dialogue between Justice and Truth.
11. Account of the Funeral of the Duke of Parma.
12. History of Spain Vindicated (2 vols. folio).

&c.

&c.

&c.

Works never printed, by the same author:—

1. Glory of Louis the Great (a poem, in French).
2. Triumph of Astrea (a poem, in French).
3. Panegyric on the Count of Moncloa (a poem).
4. Defence of Lima (military pamphlet).
5. A Treatise on Music.
6. Speculative Geometry.
7. Passion and Triumph of Christ.
8. Lyrical and Comical Poems.

attending the transmission of the manuscripts to Europe, to be printed.

In addition to Dr. Barnuevo, the old University of St. Mark produced many celebrated authors* during the period of Spanish power; and is now respectable, if not for its learning, at least for its antiquity. Its present formidable rival, the College of San Carlos, was founded by the Viceroy Don Manuel Amat in 1770.

Though there was, as has been shown, no dearth of literary men during the Spanish domination, it must be admitted that the bulk of the people were addicted rather to idle dissipation, than to study, or to pursuits requiring much application. In later times, indeed, there was a periodical publication, treating principally of scientific subjects, issued at Lima, with the title of the *Mercurio Peruano*; and during the last years of

* The following may be mentioned as the most famous in their day:—

1. Juan Alloza, who published four religious works.
2. Juan de Castellanos, author of "Illustrious Men of the Indies," and several theological works.
3. José de Santa Maria, author of various works, from 1637 to 1642.
4. Luis Galindole de San Roman, author of "Voices which the Understanding sends to the Soul."
5. Luis de Vera, who wrote a Commentary on the Book of Kings, in 1635.
6. Miguel de Aguirre, published an Account of the Town of Valdivia.
7. Miguel Sanchez de Viana, wrote the "Art of Castillian Poetry."
8. Pedro Tavar Aldana, author of Sermons and Moral Treatises.
9. N. de Colon, author of a book of Sermons, in 1640.
10. Adrian de Alesio, wrote a "Life of St. Thomas Aquinas," a poem in quintillas.
11. Juan Melendez, wrote "True Treasures of the Indians."
12. Olavide, in the last century, wrote the "Evangelist Triumphant."
13. Tomas de Salazar, author of a work on Indian law.
14. Diego de Rivero, a poet, of whom Cervantes said,—
 "Su divino ingenio ha producido,
 En Arequipa, universa primavera."

the eighteenth century the learned and excellent Dr. Unanue, President of the College of Surgeons at Lima, published a sort of descriptive gazetteer, called "*Guia del Peru*, 1793-4, 5, 6, 7, &c."

The people of Lima, however, debarred to a great extent from all participation in the government of the country, passed their time at balls and bull-fights; while the beautiful women were addicted to smoking, and indulged in ruinous extravagance in their dress and ornaments.

The climate was warm and relaxing, and but too readily tempted the people to a life of listless inaction.

The Limenians, with all their indolence, entertained the utmost jealousy of the Spaniards, who monopolised all public offices, and bore themselves towards the Creoles with insolent pride; and as the infamous colonial system of Spain admitted of the advancement of needy Europeans without education or merit, to places of trust and emolument, they were naturally looked upon with undisguised hatred, by the native Peruvians. All the judges, governors, and military officers, were Spaniards; and the Creoles, who became Bishops or Deans, were usually the sons of these European officials.

The exclusion of Indians and Mestizoes from all decent occupation was also general, and the viceroy Count of Moncloa, in 1706, published a decree that no Indian, Negro, Mestizo, Mulatto, or Zambo,* should

* A Mestizo is half white, half Indian; a Mulatto, half white, half black; and a Zambo, half black, half Indian.

traffic, have shops, or even sell in the streets; but should be confined to agricultural or mechanical labour; and all persons transgressing this order were banished to the penal settlement of Valdivia.

It was the policy of the court of Spain to court the loyalty of the Creoles in their South American colonies, while at the same time the revenue of the crown was increased, by granting titles to those families who could trace the requisite descent, and afford to pay the enormous fees. Ulloa says that when he was in Lima, in 1743, there were no less than forty-eight Marquises and Counts, among whom the principal were the the Marquises of Torre Tagle, and Montemires, and the Counts of Luringancho, and San Donas. Along the coast, too, as well as in the interior, similar titles were held by various great landed proprietors. The Count of Monte Blanco at Chinchá; of Torre Hermosa at Yca; of Valdelirios, Mozobamba, and La Tortura, at Guamanga; and so on. In 1756, when Don Manuel Amat arrived in Chilé, as Captain General, he was commissioned to sell several titles of Castille* by royal order, and for three of these he realized 20,000\$.†

The plan of creating a colonial nobility, appears to have been a wise measure, and, for a considerable time

* The title of Castille was the title of marquis or count, given by the king to a subject, the honour consisting more in the title of Castille than in the denomination of marquis or count, which was a secondary consideration. Originally the titles of Castille were only for life, but in the reign of John II. they were made hereditary. "See *Nobiliario Genealogico de los Titulos de España* Madrid, 1622." Also "*Creacion, y privilegios de los Titulos de Castilla, por Don José Berni.*"

† Gaye, "*Historia de Chilé*," tom. iv. ch. v. p. 46.

at least, had the effect of cementing, by a closer tie, the rich colonists, who sought for titles and honours, with the fountain of honour in the mother country.

Unlike the proud grandees of Spain, the colonial nobility of Peru saw no dishonour in engaging in mercantile pursuits, and truly the riches of that glorious country would have tempted the most haughty patrician in Europe to embark in trading speculations.

The fame of the rich silver mines of Peru soon became proverbial throughout the world, and imagination itself could hardly exaggerate the abundance of their yield. Besides the mines of Potosi, those of Cerro Pasco were accidentally discovered by an Indian named Huari Capcha, in 1620 ; and in 1667, Don Juan de Salcedo began to work several rich mines in the province of Puno. Crowds of adventurers flocked to these new sources of wealth, they quarrelled over the spoils, and a regular battle was fought on the plain of Laycocota.*

The immense revenue derived from these rich mines, and from those of Mexico, was placed on board the galleons at Vera Cruz, and Porto Bello, and conveyed to Spain.

Thus did the wealth of the New World fill the coffers of the despot Philip II., the most powerful monarch of Christendom ; but whose madly selfish and short-sighted policy precipitated the downfall of Spain.

* The Viceroy Count of Lemos, in order to quell this disturbance, ordered the unfortunate Salcedo, whose only crime was his riches, to be put to death at Lima.

Ascending the throne at a time when his predecessors, by destroying the old and free constitutions of Castille and Aragon, the Cortes and Justiza Mayor, had crushed the liberty of thought and action ; he found himself at the head of an almost irresponsible despotism.

For a time it flourished ; for a time the vigour and health instilled into Spain by its old constitutions, gave an impulse to the genius and enterprise of her sons ; and with such materials was the rotten despotism for a brief space upheld, ornamented, and rendered powerful.

Then was a New World conquered, and the tide of Turkish conquest permanently checked in the waters of Lepanto. Then did the armies of France, and the hired bands of Switzerland, find their match in the infantry of Gonsalvo, of Alva, and of Farnese. The pencils of Velasquez and Murillo too, at the same time, gave life to the canvass which ornaments the churches and palaces of Spain ; while the writings of Cervantes and Lope de Vega, of Calderon and Quevedo, of De Solis and Ercilla, and a host of others, laid the impress of their genius on the golden age of Spanish power.

But the seeds of decay were sown deeply under this glittering parade of genius and conquest. The constant and interminable wars in which Philip II. engaged the country, the pensioners he kept up, and subsidies he paid throughout Italy, to maintain his power, all tended to impoverish the government ; so that, though receiving from the silver mines of Peru

and Mexico the largest revenue of any sovereign in Europe, his coffers were always empty, and of \$35,000,000 received from America in 1595, not one rial remained in Spain in 1596.

In short, the financial department of Philip's government was in ruinous disorder; and still his wars continued; still he attempted to destroy England,* and still the folly of his commercial regulations exceeded belief. Everywhere stagnation of trade, and distress among the working-classes, prevailed; while Philip, shut up in the Escorial, directing personally all the departments of his wretched government; and with a white face, light hair, and a cool imperturbable expression, receiving the news of the defeat of his armaments, and the ruin of his subjects with apparent indifference; believed that Spain was still the greatest kingdom in Europe.

Then followed the reigns of his worthless descendants and their profligate ministers; and fast and heedlessly did they drive this unfortunate country on the high road to ruin and poverty.

On the establishment of the Bourbon kings in Spain, in 1714, a more enlightened policy began to show itself in the various measures of government; and the trade to the colonies, which had hitherto been confined by the strictest monopoly, was slightly opened.

At this time, the commerce of Peru and Mexico was carried on by what was called the *flota*, consisting of three men-of-war, and about fifteen merchant-

* 120,000 quintals of biscuit, and 6000 of salt beef, were exacted from Andalucia and Galicia, for the Spanish Armada.

vessels, of from 400 to 1000 tons. Every kind of manufactured article of merchandise was embarked on board this fleet, so that all the trading ports of Europe were interested in its cargo, and Spain itself sent out little more than wines and brandy. The *flota* sailed from Cadiz, and was not allowed to break bulk on any account during the voyage.

Arriving at Vera Cruz, it took in, for the return voyage, cargoes of silver, cocoa, indigo, cochineal, tobacco, and sugar; and sailed to the rendezvous at Havannah, where it awaited the galleons from Porto Bello, with all the riches of Peru.

The galleons were vessels of about five hundred tons; and an immense fair, which collected merchants from all parts of South America, was commenced at Porto Bello on their arrival.

The Acapulco galleon arrived from Manilla* in December, laden with all the spices of the East; and about the same time the rich ship from Lima arrived with about \$2,000,000 worth of silver.

Besides the galleons, there were register ships sent out by the Cadiz merchants, when they judged there was a demand at any American port. They had to pay a very large sum to the council of the Indies for a licence, and by these means the trade to South America, during the last century, was chiefly carried on. In 1715 the English obtained the *asiento*, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with

* Mr. Jackson Jervis, the historian of the Sandwich Isles, tries to deprive Captain Cook of the honour of their discovery, and to give it to an Acapulco galleon.

African slaves, and succeeded by this disgraceful traffic in smuggling immense quantities of European goods.

The strict monopoly of the merchants of Spain was indeed at all times very difficult to keep up, and under the Bourbon kings it was a good deal relaxed. Philip V. permitted a trade to be carried on with Peru, by the merchants of St. Malo; but Spain soon found that, though the colony might obtain European goods, at a cheaper rate, the Cadiz merchants were unable to compete with the Maloines, and hence the expedition of Martinet, and the seizure of French vessels in the Pacific.

The fabulous riches of the Spanish galleons naturally excited the cupidity of the needy adventurers of England and France, and the Spanish main, in the earliest part of the last century, swarmed with buccaneers.

The tinkling of the bell of the *madrina*, or leader of the silver-laden mules, was pleasant music to their ears as they lay concealed in the forests of the Isthmus. Morgan destroyed Panama, and Dampier boldly embarked on the Pacific Ocean.

He was soon followed by many others, who kept the coast of Peru in a constant state of alarm. Among them were Woodes Rogers, Shelvocke, Clipperton,*

* Woodes Rogers, 1708-9, found Alexander Selkirk on the island of Juan Fernandez, who had been left there by one of Dampier's ships.

Shelvocke and Clipperton left England in 1718. Simon Hatley, the second captain of Shelvocke's ship, shot a black albatross that had followed the ship for some days, believing it to be a bird of evil omen. This was off Cape Horn. Coleridge took the idea of his "Ancient Mariner" from this circumstance.

whose captain of marines invented the famous Dover's powders, and many other brave navigators of whom England may well be proud.

The naval force at the disposal of the viceroys of Peru to resist their frequent attacks, was but small.

The arsenal at Callao, previous to the terrible earthquake of 1746, consisted of several large storehouses, and was presided over by five officials, who embezzled stores to an incredible extent, and fitted out the ships scandalously.

The fleet in 1740 consisted of two line-of-battle ships, the *Concepcion* and *Sacramento*. They were two-deckers, built at Guayaquil, but only carried a battery of thirty guns. In 1743 the frigate *Esperanza* arrived from Spain, and when Lord Anson's squadron was in the Pacific, several merchant-vessels were armed as men-of-war.

The stores and provisions for the Spanish South-Sea fleet were procured from various provinces on the coast of the Pacific.

Canvass came from Caxamarca and Chachapoyas, and was sold at Lima for \$30 the fardo (280 yards). Rope and tallow were imported from Chil ; timber from Guayaquil, Chiloe, and Valdivia; salt beef from the Andes; biscuit was made at Lima, from Chilian flour; excellent rice came from Guayaquil; wine and oil from Pisco and Nasca. Iron only was obliged to be imported from Spain, at a great expense, averaging from \$40 to even \$100 the quintal.

The general of the South Sea had a salary of \$5000 a-year, and his table found while on active service; and

under him the captains received \$250, and the lieutenants \$65 a month. The Creole sailors were very lazy, but brave and fearless of death. The best came from Colan, a fishing-village near Payta.

On board the men-of-war were shops, of which the captain gained the profit. In these, wine and dice were sold; and the men were allowed to gamble till late at night, with naked lights, when at sea. The merchant-vessels were in a still more disgraceful state, were wretchedly built, and worse managed. The watch was taken by the master and pilot. The one below slept in his berth, the one on deck slept near the cabin door, all the men slept, and the man steering, often lashed the wheel, and slept too. Many vessels were annually wrecked.*

But the speculation and corruption of the arsenal and dockyard at Callao, in 1746, came to a sudden and awful termination.

On the 28th of October, during a warm, but perfectly calm evening, a tremendous shock of an earthquake startled the inhabitants of Lima and Callao. The whole town of Callao became one mass of ruins; and a huge wave came pouring into the devoted place, carrying the frigate *St. Fermin*, and other vessels, with it, and leaving them high and dry. A small monument between Callao and Bella Vista, now marks the spot where the frigate was left.

All the inhabitants of Callao, except one, were drowned in this raging flood; and Lima also suffered fearfully.†

* Noticias Secretas de Ulloa, p. 100—184.

† True Relation of the Earthquake at Lima. London, 1748.

The earthquake of 1746 was one of the most terrible calamities that ever overtook any city, and the recovery of the people from their panic was very slow.

The viceroy, Marquis of Villa Garcia, exerted himself on the occasion with great energy, and superintended the rebuilding of new Callao on a more convenient site.

The new town was defended by a castle in the form of a pentagon, with two round towers, and a curtain on the sea face, mounted with cannon, and carefully built to resist invasion.

From this period a marked change appears to have come over the colonial policy of Spain; and the enlightened government of the good Count Florida Blanca, who was prime minister for twenty years, introduced a few attempts at administrative reform, not before they were needed, into the colonial government.

The enormous viceroyalty of Peru, long found to be too large for a single command, was divided; and viceroys were appointed in La Plata and New Grenada, while another royal audience was established at Quito. The haughty grandees of Spain also ceased to come out to Peru; and in their places, practical men, who had done good service as captains-general of Chil , were appointed viceroys, such as Don Manuel Amat, in 1761, and Don Agustin Jaurequi, in 1780. At last, Don Ambrosio O'Higgins, whose father was a poor Irish adventurer, who kept a little retail shop in the square at Lima, became viceroy of Peru, and was created Marquis of Osorno. While captain-general of

Chilé, he had constructed the splendid road from Valparaiso to Santiago, and at Lima he planted the *alameda* on the road to Callao.

His son, the famous General O'Higgins, was one of the liberators of Chilé.

O'Higgins was followed in the viceroyalty by the Marquis of Aviles, and in 1806, Don José Abascal, an excellent ruler, assumed the reins of government.

But notwithstanding the various reforms effected by later viceroys, the authorities of all grades were guilty of peculation and embezzlement. The judges of the audiences, especially at Lima, received bribes without any shame. They all engaged in commerce, and smuggled to such an extent, that mules laden with contraband goods from Payta, frequently entered Lima in the middle of the day.

But the rule of Spain was drawing to a close. The successor of Abascal, General Pezuela, was the last viceroy who peacefully succeeded, and by a curious coincidence, his portrait exactly filled the room in the palace which contained those of his predecessors from the time of Pizarro.

Many things had tended to prepare the minds of the Creole population for revolt. The partial opening of foreign trade by Florida Blanca; the knowledge of their own enslaved condition, obtained through the medium of their increasing intercourse with independent states; and, finally, the invasion of the mother country by Napoleon's armies, brought popular excitement in South America to such a height, that it required but a spark to ignite the inflammable mate-

rials, which were destined to destroy for ever the power of Spain in the New World.

The folly of the Spanish governors, and the overbearing conduct of the regency at Cadiz, at length produced those rebellions they were intended to avoid; and commencing at Caraccas and Buenos Ayres, the whole of Spanish America was soon engaged in a war with the mother country, and finally rendered entirely independent.

Peru, so long the centre of viceregal grandeur, was the last to throw off the yoke of Spain, but its independence followed inevitably on that of the surrounding provinces, and in 1821 General San Martin entered Lima, exclaiming: "I come to break those chains which Pizarro forged three hundred years ago."

VICEROYS OF PERU.

1530. Francisco Pizarro.	1667. Count of Lemos.
1544. Vaca de Castro.	1674. Count of Castellar.
1546. Blasco Nuñez de Vela.	1678. Liñan de Cisneros (Bishop).
1548. Pedro de la Gasca.	1681. Duke de la Palata.
1551. Antonio de Mendoza.	1689. Count of Moncloa.
1555. Marquis of Cañete.	1707. Marquis of Castell dos Rios.
1561. Count of Nieva.	1713. Ladron de Guevara (Bishop).
1569. Lope de Castro.	1716. Marcillo de Amon (Bishop).
1581. Francisco de Toledo.	1716. Prince of Santo Bono.
1583. Martin Henriquez.	1724. Marcillo de Amon (Bishop).
1584. Count of Villar.	1736. Marquis of Villa Garcia.
1590. Marquis of Cañete.	1746. Count of Superunda.
1596. Marquis of Salinas.	1761. Manuel Amat.
1604. Count of Monterey.	1776. Manuel de Guirion.
1607. Marquis of Montes Claras.	1780. Agustin de Jaurequi.
1615. Prince of Esquilache.	1790. Teodoro de Croix.
1622. Marquis of Guadalcazar.	1790. Francisco Taboada.
1629. Count of Chinchon.	1796. Ambrosio O'Higgins.
1639. Marquis of Mancera.	1799. Marquis of Aviles.
1648. Marquis of Salvatierra.	1806. José de Abascal.
1661. Count of Alba de Liste.	1816. Joachim Pezuela.
1661. Count of Santiestevan.	1821. José de la Serna.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERUVIAN REPUBLIC.

WHEN the war of independence broke out in South America, the Spanish government, in addition to its rapid decay from internal causes, was torn by a fierce war, and distracted by the dissensions of a regency; and it is wonderful that the royalists should have been so long able to carry on a war against the revolted colonies.

It was not in Lima, however, but in the more remote provinces, that the insurrectionary movements first broke out; and while Colombia and Buenos Ayres were advancing towards success, the Spanish general Ramirez had suppressed the revolt of Pumacagua at Cuzco; Pezuela and Goyeneche had gained decisive victories over the rebels in Upper Peru; and an expedition had sailed from Callao to reconquer the revolted province of Chilé.

It was natural that the centre of viceregal power, where a large standing army* was constantly kept on foot, and swarms of Spanish officials retained the upper hand in all the large towns, should be kept longer in subjection; and though both the creole and Indian

* In 1820, the Viceroy Pezuela had an army of 23,000 men in Peru.

populations bore no good will towards their oppressors, they were yet cowed into outward submission by the display of power, and the unscrupulous use of it by the royalists.

But this state of things could not possibly last, as communication with the mother country became daily more difficult; and at last the flames of revolution approached the shores of the land of the Incas.

The gallant Lord Cochrane had arrived at Valparaíso to command the fleet of armed vessels collected together by the revolted Chilians, which were chiefly manned, and almost entirely officered, by Englishmen.

On the 20th of August, 1820, a rebel army commanded by General San Martín, a native of Paraguay, and one of the liberators of Chile, embarked on board Lord Cochrane's fleet and sailed for Peru.

At Pisco a division of the patriot army, as it was called, was landed under General Arenales, and immediately advanced by Yca, into the interior. The main body of the expedition landed at the little village of Ancon, a few miles north of Lima, while Lord Cochrane planned one of the most dashing exploits ever conceived even by that most fearless and daring of naval heroes. This was the cutting out of the Spanish frigate *Esmeralda*, which was anchored under the guns of Callao Castle, and protected by a corvette, two brigs, and a number of gun-boats.

The boats of the Chilean squadron started for this expedition, headed by Lord Cochrane, late in the night of the 5th of November; and arriving alongside the *Esmeralda* unperceived, boarded her on the starboard

and port sides at the same moment. After a short but severe struggle, the Spaniards were overcome, and the frigate was got under weigh, and thus taken triumphantly from under the guns of the castle.

While this success was shedding lustre on the Chilian navy, General Arenales had advanced from Yca into the sierra, and defeated a detachment of royalists near Cerro Pasco ;* but he found it necessary to fall back across the Cordillera, and join the main body of the patriots on the coast.

These rapid successes of the patriots, so sudden and unexpected, seem for the moment to have paralysed the efforts of the Spanish generals ; who, at this time, instead of advancing against the invaders, employed themselves with internal dissensions, which ended in Pezuela being deposed by a military commission on the 29th of January, 1821, and General Don José La Serna being declared viceroy in his stead. Taking advantage of the unsettled state of affairs, numbers of influential men, both military and civilians, escaped from Lima and joined the patriot ranks, where their presence gave new confidence to the invaders.†

Cut off by the Chilian fleet from communication with Spain, surrounded by hostile forces and bands of *montoneros*, or mounted robbers, the viceroy La Serna found it impossible to retain possession of Lima ; and on the 6th of July, 1821, he evacuated the

* After this action, Don Andres Santa Cruz, then a colonel in the royalist army, deserted, and came over to the patriots.

† On this occasion Colonels Gamarra and Elespuru, who have since played important parts in the history of the republic, went over to the patriots.

old capital of the viceroys, and retreated into the interior, where Cuzco was established as the head-quarters of the royalists.

On the 9th, the patriot army, under General San Martin, entered Lima in triumph, amid the acclamations of the native Peruvians, and the suppressed rage of the Spaniards, so long the cruel oppressors of this unfortunate country, whose period of power was fast drawing to a close.

On the 28th the independence of Peru was proclaimed; the clergy, the university, and most even of the titled aristocracy of Lima having given in their adherence. A grand procession, headed by San Martin, and accompanied by the Marquisses of Montemiras and Torre Tagle, the members of the university, the religious orders, the judges and members of the Cabildo, left the palace and proceeded to the centre of the plaza, where San Martin waved the new national flag, and exclaimed—"Peru is, from this moment, free and independent, by the general vote of the people, and by the justice of her cause, which God defend." Lord Cochrane witnessed the ceremony from the balcony in the north corner of the palace, facing the plaza.

Immediately afterwards San Martin declared himself protector of Peru, and appointed Don Bernardo Monteagudo, an upstart of colour from Upper Peru, and Don Hipolito Unanue, the learned president of the College of Surgeons at Lima, his ministers of state. His first acts were to banish the aged archbishop of Lima, Don Bartolome Maria de las Heras, who had issued an eloquent protest against his decrees; and to

establish a tyrannical tribunal to examine into the past conduct of the Spaniards. In October he established an Order of the Sun of Peru, in imitation of the Legion of Honour of France; and permitted the colonial nobility to retain their titles of Castille, only calling them instead titles of Peru,—measures which betrayed a vulgar admiration of the paraphernalia of royalty, a quality for which modern republicans of all nations have been sufficiently notorious.

In September, Callao Castle surrendered to San Martin, and Lord Cochrane's squadron left the coast of Peru. So elated was San Martin with the success of his enterprise, that although the whole of the interior of Peru was still in the hands of the Spaniards, he allowed a Peruvian auxiliary force, under General Santa Cruz, to embark at Truxillo, and reinforce the patriots under General Sucre at Quito. In May, 1822, the battle of Pichincha; in which the Spaniards under Ramirez (the same general who had hung the ill-fated chief Puma-cagua) were entirely defeated, mainly through the gallantry of the English under Mackintosh; decided the independence of Quito.

In July, San Martin sailed from Callao, leaving the executive in the hands of the Marquis of Torre Tagle, and proceeded to Guayaquil, to have an interview with General Bolivar,* the liberator of Colombia, and misnamed the Washington of South America.

* Simon Bolivar was born at Caraccas, in Venezuela, on July 24th, 1783, of good family, his father being Don Vicente Bolivar y Ponte, a colonel of militia, and descended from an ancient Biscayan family. As a young man, he was educated in Spain, and travelled in France and England, returning to Caraccas in 1809. He is described, by his biographer, as short, meagre,

The interview between Bolivar and San Martin, both unscrupulous and ambitious men, appears to have been little satisfactory; and during the absence of the latter from Lima, a popular outbreak in that city forced his venal and unpopular minister Monteagudo to retire precipitately from Peru. Monteagudo remained in Quito till 1824, when returning to Lima under the patronage of Bolivar, he was assassinated by a negro who was probably paid by some unknown enemy.

On returning to Lima, San Martin assembled the first congress of Peru, which commenced its sittings on the 20th of September, 1822; and resigning his power into their hands, he retired from public life. Next to Bolivar it was San Martin who played the most conspicuous part in the war of independence; and though there have been various opinions as to his political character, his voluntary retirement acquits him, at least from the charge of overweening ambition.

After residing a short time on his estate at Mendoza, he sailed for Europe, and died at Boulogne in 1850.

An executive council, composed of Don José de la Mar, Don Felipe Alvarado, and Don Manuel Salazar y Baquijano, Count of Vista Florida, held the executive power until February, 1823, when Don José de la Riva Agüero was elected president.

During this time an expedition was sent by sea,

weak, enervated, and sallow. On the breaking out of the war of independence, he joined the patriots under Miranda; subsequently, commanding the patriot army, and after many vicissitudes, the fate of Colombia was decided by his victory at Carabobo, June 24, 1821.—*Memoirs of General Miller*, ii. p. 330. *Holstein's Memoirs of Bolivar*.

against the Spaniards in the southern part of Peru, under Generals Alvarado and Miller, the latter an Englishman who had served in the peninsular war. They were, however, defeated in the affairs of Torata and Moquegua, by the Spaniards under Canterac and Valdez, and returned unsuccessful to Lima.

Meanwhile, Riva Agüero had named his friend Don Andres Santa Cruz commander-in-chief of the forces, and Colonel Gamarra chief of the staff. But the Spaniards in the interior were rapidly assuming a threatening attitude, and an army under Canterac at Xauxa menaced an advance on Lima itself. Under these circumstances the aid of the Colombians was requested, and the liberator Bolivar sent 3000 men, who landed at Callao under General Sucre.

At the same time General Santa Cruz embarked with a second expedition against southern Peru, with Colonels Cerdeña, a native of the Canary Isles, Elespuru, and Pardo Zela, and 5000 Peruvians. No sooner were his vessels out of sight, than the Spaniards, under Canterac, traversed the Andes, and entered Lima in triumph; while the president Riva Agüero and his congress, with Sucre and his Colombian army, retreated rapidly under the protection of the guns of Callao Castle. Want of success with a popular assembly is always a crime, and in this case Riva Agüero was deposed and sent to Truxillo, while General Sucre became chief of the patriots at Callao.

Canterac, finding his position untenable, retired from Lima into the interior, and the capital was again occupied by the patriots. It then became necessary to

reinforce Santa Cruz in the south, for which purpose Sucre sailed from Callao on the 20th of July, 1823, leaving the executive in the hands of the Marquis of Torre Tagle.

But this second expedition to the south also ended in disaster. The Spaniards under the enterprising Valdez worsted Santa Cruz at Zepita, near the banks of lake Titicaca, and forced both that general and Sucre, who had occupied Arequipa, to re-embark and return to Lima.

Under these depressing circumstances, the celebrated General Bolivar, the liberator of Colombia, was requested by the Peruvians to come to their aid; and having obtained permission from the congress at Bogota, he sailed for Peru and entered Lima on the 1st of September, 1823.

The Marquis of Torre Tagle resigned his power into the hands of the liberator, and Riva Agüero, the ex-president, who had made a hostile demonstration at Truxillo, was banished to Europe.

The first occurrence, after the arrival of Bolivar, augured badly for his future success. This was a revolt in Callao Castle, which took place on the 15th of February, 1824. It was caused by the non-payment of arrears to the troops, and in a few days the Spanish prisoners persuaded the mutineers to hoist the royal standard.* On hearing of the mutiny, the royalists advanced from Lurin, and occupied the fortress. The patriot officers, who were taken

* This was done chiefly at the instigation of a Spaniard named Casariego, who is now living on alms in one of the convents of Lima.

prisoners, were marched off to the interior, guarded by a detachment under General Monet; and during the march the Spaniards committed an act of barbarity, which marks the deadly hatred they felt towards the insurgents, and the savage nature of the war.

On the 21st of March, Colonels Estomba and Luna escaped, and concealed themselves in one of the deep ravines of the Andes. Rendered furious at their escape, General Monet insulted and even struck the other prisoners; and on arriving at the little mountain village of San Mateo, they were ordered to form in line along the banks of the torrent. Two Spanish officers, Colonels Garcia Camba and Tur, then presented themselves, while the former thus addressed the prisoners:—

“Gentlemen,—I have final orders from General Monet to make you all draw lots, that two may die for the two that have escaped. If ten run, ten others shall be shot; and if half run, the other half shall be shot.”

Señor Aldana, auditor of the patriot army, then defended his comrades in the following terms:—“Among the most barbarous nations I cannot recollect an act so atrocious and unjust; I claim that there be observed among us the rights of” Here Garcia Camba cut him short by saying, “It is sufficient that you have been given the right to keep your head on your shoulders,”—and then proceeded with the lots. They were thus arranged: Garcia Camba wrote the names of the prisoners on little slips of paper, and placed them in a helmet. The two upon whom the

lots fell were Captains Don Manuel Prudan and Don Domingo Millan.

On hearing their names from the mouth of Garcia Camba, the first exclaimed, "Servant to my country!" the second, "Present!" and took four paces to the front. In a few minutes they were marched off to the place of execution. They unbuttoned their coats and fell, exclaiming, "Our comrades in arms who witness our assassination, some day will avenge us." The other prisoners were forced to pass over their bodies, but at the same time they swore to avenge their deaths. They were confined in the island of Esteves, in the lake of Titicaca, and not liberated till after the battle of Ayacucho.*

Casariago, who had obtained possession of Callao Castle, resigned his command to General Rodil, who prepared to hold it against the patriots, though an Englishman named Guise, who commanded a frigate in the Peruvian service, lately taken from the Spaniards, blockaded it by sea, and a large patriot force surrounded it by land.

At this time many of the vacillating people of Lima, who had become rebels, changed sides and went over to the royalists. Among them were the Count of San Donas,† who was afterwards shot at Lima, and the late head of the executive, the Marquis of Torre Tagle, a weak and dissipated man, who died during the siege of

* *Herencia Española*, p. 249.—This anecdote was dictated to Colonel Espinosa, in 1847, by two officers who drew lots on that day; and in 1850, three more corroborated their story.

† One of his ancestors, also a Peruvian, was a distinguished diplomatist, and Spanish ambassador to the Court of France, in the time of Philip V.

the Castle of Callao, in want of the common necessities of life.

He is believed, at one time, to have been desirous to put one of the Bourbon princes, independent of the mother country, on the throne of Peru; clinging as he did to the titles and other attractions of royalty, and believing sincerely that that form of government would best suit the people of the land of the Incas. The same views are imputed, with probable truth, to General San Martin.

In the beginning of 1824, the Congress had the good sense to dissolve itself, leaving Bolivar sole dictator of the insurgent cause.

Having concentrated his army at Huaras, he advanced across the Andes in July, 1824, to decide the question of the independence of Peru with the Spaniards in the interior.*

After a brilliant cavalry action at Junin, near Tarma, with the Royalists under Canterac on the 5th of August, which only lasted about three quarters of an hour, Bolivar marched to Guamanga; and after reconnoitering the banks of the Apurimac, he returned to Lima in October, leaving the command of the army with General Sucre.

*	ROYALISTS.	PATRIOTS.
	Gen. Canterac with 9000 men.	Gen. Sucre, chief of the staff.
	,, Valdez ,, 5000 ,,	,, Lamar, commanding Peruvian Infantry.
	,, Olañeta ,, 5000 ,,	,, Cordova, } commanding Colum- ,, Lara, } bian Infantry.
	Viceroy Laserna at Cuzco.	,, Necochea ,, Cavalry.
		,, Miller ,, Peruvian Cavalry.

Then followed the great and decisive battle of Ayacucho, in which the Spanish power was utterly destroyed, and the independence of Peru established. This battle has been fully described in another chapter.*

General Rodil still held possession of Callao Castle, and retained it through a long and glorious defence. The hardships and misery suffered by the garrison were fearful. Several thousand unfortunate Royalists of Lima had flocked into the castle, among whom were many women and children, most of whom died of starvation.† At length, long after the Spanish flag had disappeared from every other part of South America, the fierce and cruel Rodil surrendered on honorable terms, on the 19th of January, 1826.

On hearing of the victory of Ayacucho, the Dictator Bolivar made a triumphal progress through liberated Peru. At Arequipa he was received with acclamations. At Cuzco he was entertained with a grand ball in the old college of San Borja. From Cuzco he turned south, and entering Upper Peru, arrived at Potosi on the 5th of October, 1825.

In August of the same year, a general assembly had met at Chuquisaca, and declared Upper Peru independent, both of the rest of Peru, and of the Argentine Republic; giving it, at the same time, the name of Bolivia in honour of the Liberator.

* Chapter III.

† Among these were the Señora Ulloa, niece of the famous authors who have often been quoted in this work; her daughter, the Marchioness of Torre Tagle; the Marquis of Torre Tagle; Don Diego Aliaga, Count of Luringancho; and many others.

This new republic consists partly of the giant chain of the Andes, which contains the world-renowned silver treasures of Potosi, and the famous copper mines of Coracora; partly of the vast primæval forests bordering on the tributaries of the Madeira; and partly of a narrow strip of coast line on which is situated the little town of Cobija, the only seaport.

Chuquisaca became the capital of Bolivia, and General Sucre, the hero of Ayacucho, was proclaimed the first President of the Republic in 1826.

Meanwhile Bolivar had returned to Lima, and after some bungling attempts at legislation,* embarked at Callao on the 3rd of September, 1826, for Guayaquil, leaving General Santa Cruz, President of the council of government, with General Lara in command of the auxiliary Colombian troops in Peru. These Colombians, who, now that their services were no longer required, excited jealousy in the minds of the Peruvians, were shipped off to Guayaquil; and a congress having assembled at Lima on the 4th of June, 1827, General Santa Cruz resigned his power into their hands, and was sent as Peruvian envoy to Chilé.

The new congress, having commenced its sittings at Lima, elected Don José Lamar† president of the republic of Peru, and Don Manuel Salazary Baquijano, Count of Vista Florida, vice-president.

* His chief aim was to introduce a constitution, in which the president held his office for life.

† Lamar was born at Cuenca, near Quito, and educated in Spain. He was one of the defenders of Saragossa in 1808, and was afterwards a prisoner in France. In 1813 he escaped to Madrid, and in 1816 was sent out to Lima, as a brigadier in the Spanish service. Soon afterwards, however, he sent his resignation to the viceroy, and joined the patriots.

Peru was now established as an independent republic, and commenced the work of self-legislation. Anticipations of a bright future, destined to be cruelly disappointed, were entertained; and the opening of a free communication with Europe, the liberty of thought and action, and the blessings of self-government, it was hoped, would produce the most beneficial effects upon the people.

The sequel will prove the ruinous and pernicious working of a republic, on a people fitted by nature for better things. The independence was gained solely by the aid of foreigners. It was the fleet of Lord Cochrane, almost entirely officered by Englishmen, that, by cutting off the communications of the Spaniards, secured the success of the insurrection. The loan contracted in London, and the arms and ammunition sent out from England, enabled the patriots to continue the war. The valour of English auxiliaries was mainly instrumental in gaining the victories of Carabobo and Pichincha, which established the independence of Colombia and Quito; and General Miller's charge was the cause of the victory of Ayacucho. Such was the part played by Englishmen; and the troops of Colombia and Chil  formed the principal numerical part of the army that liberated Peru.

No sooner, however, was that liberation effected, than a morbid feeling of jealousy for those men who had achieved their independence, began to show itself among the Peruvians. An indecent haste was displayed in embarking the Colombian auxiliaries; and the government of the neighbouring state of Bolivia, at the

head of which was the Colombian General Sucre, with a small body-guard of his countrymen, excited the real or pretended apprehensions of the rulers of Peru.

An army under General Gamarra advanced to the Bolivian frontier, while an internal revolt forced Sucre to abdicate and embark for Guayaquil; and a treaty between Peru and Bolivia, signed at Piquiza on the 6th of July, 1828, constituted the latter state free of Colombian or any other foreign intervention.

The Bolivian Congress, on the expulsion of Sucre, elected General Santa Cruz, the Peruvian Envoy in Chil , President of the Republic; and General Velasco, as Vice-President, held temporary charge until his arrival.

Santa Cruz arrived at La Paz in July, 1829, and took the supreme command of Bolivia,* which he held firmly for many years.

In Peru, the President Lamar now turned his arms against Colombia, with the object of annexing Guayaquil to Peru; so short a time was allowed to elapse by these enlightened republicans, before those who had fought side by side at Ayacucho, turned, like wild beasts, upon each other.

Lamar took the field in person, with General Don Agustin Gamarra as Commander-in-chief; while a fleet, consisting of a Spanish frigate taken in the war, and some smaller vessels, sailed for Guayaquil, under the command of Admiral Guise. Its fate was most unfortunate: Guise was killed by a shot from one of the forts, and the fleet captured by boats sent out from

* Bolivia y sas Grandes Partidos, p. 8. Valparaiso, 1851.

the town. Early in 1829, Lamar opened the campaign on the frontier, and advanced to Cuenca. He was opposed by General Flores, and the two armies met between Cuenca and Quito, at a place called “el Portete de Tarqui.” Though far superior in numbers, the Peruvians were defeated, and forced to capitulate, being allowed to return to their own country. Elated by this victory, the ambition of Flores rose in proportion; shortly afterwards General Sucre, captain-general of Quito, was assassinated,* and Flores became first President of the new republic of Ecuador.

Meanwhile, disorders had broken out among the vanquished chieftains of Peru. In the night of the 6th of June, 1829, Lamar was seized at Puira, by Gamarra’s order, put on board a vessel, with General Bermudez as a sort of gaoler over him, and transported to Costa Rica, where he died under suspicious circumstances.

On the 7th, Gamarra issued a proclamation that Peru should no longer be governed by foreigners; while his accomplice, General La Fuente, deposed the Vice-President, Vista Florida, at Lima, and caused himself to be proclaimed supreme chief of the nation.

A congress assembled on the 31st of August, 1829, and Gamarra was elected president of Peru. He was

* Thus fell the hero of Ayacucho. His officers were, nearly all, equally unfortunate :—

Sucre, assassinated 1830	Nieto, poisoned 1843
Lamar, banished 1829	Salaverry, shot 1835
Cordova, assassinated.	Fernandini, brains beaten out 1835
Miller, banished 1839	&c. &c.
Gamarra, killed 1842	Vivanco, banished.
Moran, shot by the populace . 1854	Torico, banished.

a native of Cuzco, of Indian parentage, and having risen to the rank of Colonel in the Spanish army, he went over to the patriots in 1821. A man of insatiable ambition and considerable natural abilities, he was, during his whole political life, either in possession of supreme power, or restlessly plotting to attain it.

It now began to be evident that the distracted land of the Incas was not even to become a republic, but a deplorable military despotism, under the unsightly guise of democracy, governed by a succession of ambitious generals, who were likely to fight endlessly for the supreme power, and recklessly to plunge their bleeding country into civil wars. The country gentlemen and educated classes were almost entirely excluded from real political power, and their property remained at the mercy of the military adventurers who oppressed the miserable state.

Gamarra continued in possession of supreme power during his constitutional term of four years, but during that time he crushed more than fourteen conspiracies, of more or less importance, against his government.*

Among others, the Vice-President La Fuente, was suspected of treason. An officer and guard of soldiers were sent to arrest him, but the general's wife succeeded in delaying them until he had escaped by a back door. The officer then entered, and having searched the house, he got out on the roof. The soldiers outside, thinking it was the general escaping, according to their orders, fired and shot him dead.

* Dr. A. Smith's Peru as it is, vol. ii. p. 178.

Insurrections were suppressed in Cuzco and Ayacucho ; and in 1833 Gamarra convened a congress to elect a provisional president.

Don Luis José Orbegoza, a native of Truxillo, and deputy for that city in congress, was accordingly elected. He was a tall and handsome man, but with little talent or ability, and terribly addicted to the use of ardent spirits.

But Gamarra was too fond of power to relinquish it so easily. He declared that the congress had only been authorised to reform the constitution, and not to elect a president; and on the very night of the election, attempted to seize Orbegoza: but the latter took refuge in Callao Castle, delegating the command of his forces to General Necochea. Gamarra, with another part of the army, declared General Bermudez, one of the unsuccessful candidates, president, and dissolved the congress by an armed force, after severely wounding a brave sentry named Juan Rios, who defended the door against two companies of the battalion Piquiza. On the 20th of January, 1834, the two presidents engaged in a slight skirmish near Bella Vista, on the road between Callao and Lima.

But such barefaced treason outraged the feelings even of many of the military chiefs. General Don Domingo Nieto pronounced against Bermudez at Arequipa; and when Gamarra claimed his assistance, he replied,—“I am a slave of the laws.” General Vidal also pronounced for Orbegoza at Truxillo; and the insurgents Bermudez and Gamarra, finding that

the feeling of the country was against them, evacuated Lima, and marched into the interior.

The president Orbegozo, then occupied the capital, and congress once more assembled. General Miller was sent with a force of 1030 men to follow up the insurgents. He encountered them at a place called Huaylachuco, on the 16th of April, and after a short action defeated them. General Frias was killed, and Bermudez fled.

On the 28th of the same month, at the instigation of one of Bermudez's colonels, named Don José Rufino Echenique, a native of Puno, the whole of the insurgents went over to Orbegozo, declared they were ignorant of the cause of the quarrel, and embraced their enemies at Maquinhuaño.

Gamarra, with his friend Elespuru, had retired to Cuzco. Meanwhile, Colonel San Roman, in the cause of Bermudez, marched from Puno upon Arequipa, and defeated Colonels Castilla and Moran, with General Nieto, on the little plain of Cangallo, near the foot of the volcano, and about four leagues from Arequipa. Long before the battle was decided, however, San Roman ran away, and was not overtaken until he had reached a distance of 120 miles from the field, when he was first informed of his victory.

General Gamarra, who was then at Cuzco, also heard of the victory, and that the army was deserted by its chief. He therefore advanced to Arequipa, and leaving his beautiful and heroic wife, Doña Panchita,* in that city, commenced a campaign against the

* This amiable lady was a sister of General Zubiaga.

defeated forces of Nieto, whom he chased from Moquegua and Tacna, until they took refuge on board their ships at Arica.*

While at Tacna, however, he received news of the treason of Echenique at Maquinhuyo, and being deserted by all his former adherents, Gamarra, accompanied by the only honourable cavallero who stood by him in adversity,† fled across the Andes, and took refuge in Bolivia.

Meanwhile there was a revolt at Arequipa, and Doña Panchita, escaping almost by a miracle, fled to Chilé.

The distracted country being now for a moment restored to order, a new constitution, formed by the congress, was solemnly proclaimed on the 19th of June, and the president, Orbegozo, started for Arequipa, leaving the virtuous Count of Vista Florida in charge of the government at Lima.

No sooner had the president left the capital, than Colonel Don Felipe Santiago Salaverry, Governor of Callao Castle, marched on Lima, declared himself supreme chief of the nation, with a salary of \$48,000 a year, and deposed Vista Florida, who retired to Huancayo.

Salaverry ‡ was a tall, handsome man, of most agreeable manners and conversation, but insatiably

* See pamphlet entitled "Impugnacion a un libelo publicado por el insigne traidor Orbegoso, titulado su Defensa," pp. 18, 19.

† The excellent Don Manuel Novoa, lately subprefect of Canas.

‡ Salaverry was son of Don Felipe, comptroller of tobacco duties at Arequipa, by Micaela, daughter of Don Mariano del Solar, of Lima. His grandfather was a Spaniard, native of San Sebastian, in Biscay.

He was born on the 3rd of May, 1806. In the years 1818 and 1819 he

ambitious, unscrupulous, and with little principle. He was however a favourite with the youthful portion of the army, and soon collected a respectable force at Lima.

While the established order of things was thus overturned at Lima, a revolt broke out at Cuzco, where General Miller was deprived of his command. Taking advantage of this, Gamarra once more came forth from his asylum in Bolivia, and raised another standard of revolt at Cuzco, where he recognised, in form, the authority of Salaverry, and offered to place the southern departments under his orders.

The unfortunate Orbegozo, now almost deserted by his own troops, and with two powerful enemies at Lima and Cuzco, besought the president of Bolivia to march to his assistance.

General Santa Cruz, who had held that office since 1829, had for some time conceived the idea of uniting Peru and Bolivia under one head, and eagerly seized this opportunity of furthering his ambitious projects. A treaty was ratified between Santa Cruz and Orbegozo at La Paz, on the 15th of June, 1835, and soon after-

was studying Latin in the college of San Carlos, at Lima. While there, he was sitting at an upper window, learning music, when a negro passed by, selling chirimoyas. He lowered down a basket, asking for two rials' worth, and because the fellow did not give him the best, he sprang out of the window to chastise him, regardless of the height, but was luckily caught by the legs, and dragged back.

This anecdote shows the impetuosity of his temper at that time. On the 8th of December, 1820, he fled from Lima, and joined the army under San Martin, then only twelve years of age. He distinguished himself in the patriot ranks at the battle of Ayacucho.—*Vida de Salaverry, por Bilbao*. Lima, 1853.

wards the Bolivian army crossed the frontier, and entered Peru.

Santa Cruz encountered Gamarra at Yanacocha, near Cuzco, and entirely defeated him, celebrating his victory by the deaths of several of his prisoners. Gamarra himself fled to Lima, but was banished by the arbitrary Salaverry. During his short stay he received tidings of the death of his wife, Panchita, in Chilé, and, in his utmost adversity, her heart was presented to him by a confidential female friend, enclosed in a glass case.

Meanwhile, Salaverry continued to exercise despotic power at Lima. Orbegozo sent an expedition against him, commanded by General Valle Riestra; but at Pisco his troops mutinied, and delivered their General into the hands of Salaverry, who confined him in Callao Castle.

On the 31st of March, 1835, the self-elected supreme chief sent an order from Lima, to shoot his unfortunate prisoner. In vain the excellent wife of Salaverry intreated him to spare his victim, urged that he had a wife and family, that he had committed no crime; immediately the order arrived at Callao, the murder of General Valle Riestra was perpetrated.*

Meanwhile, General Nieto, whom he had banished, pronounced against Salaverry at Truxillo, and the latter sailed with an expedition against him, declaring that he would return with the rebel's head. His friend,

* Vida de Salaverry, pp. 270, 271. His biographer, among the excuses he puts forth for this cruel murder, urges that Valle Riestra was an old enemy of Salaverry, and that he had served with the Spaniards till Ayacucho.

Colonel Bujanda, remained in charge of the government at Lima.

After a short campaign in the north, the troops of Nieto mutinied, and declared for Salaverry; who, returned in triumph to Lima, and found that the whole of Peru, with the exception of Arequipa, had given in its adherence to his government. He formed a ministry at Lima,* and advanced against the forces of Santa Cruz and Orbegozo, who threatened the existence of his power in the south.

Having shot a few officers suspected of favouring the enemy, Salaverry marched to Yca with about 3500 men, in October 1835, while his fleet, consisting of the 22-gun corvette "Libertad," with the flag of Admiral Postigo, and three brigantines, commanded the coast.

Salaverry's second in command was Don Juan Fermandini, an officer who had been minister of war under Orbegozo, but joined the Supreme Chief in his treason against the President. He was tall and handsome, agreeable in society, and, indeed, resembled Salaverry in those qualities which had gained him the affection of his followers.

Advancing across the Andes to Ayacucho, the Supreme Chief was harassed by the Yquichano Indians, and opposed on the banks of the river Pampas by the troops of Santa Cruz, under General Moran.

Salaverry then returned to the coast, marched to the south, and on the 31st of September occupied the city of Arequipa.

* Don Bonifacio Lazarte, minister of foreign affairs.

Colonel Don Bernardo Soffia ,, war and marine.

Don José de Mendiburu ,, finance.

While Salaverry prosecuted his campaign in the south, Lima became a prey to the most lawless anarchy. Bands of robbers infested the road to Callao, and even penetrated into the very streets of the city. The ringleader of a band of robbers, a negro named Leon, was for some time in possession of Lima, until at length General Vidal, with a band of *montoneros*, rescued the capital of the republic from being pillaged by a gang of robbers. Colonel Solar, a cousin of the supreme chief, who occupied Callao, was successfully repulsed in his attempt to seize the city, which remained in the hands of Vidal; while on the 21st of January, Callao Castle was surrendered to General Moran, at the head of 600 men, by Solar; and in a short time the unfortunate Salaverry had no more ground than that on which his army stood near Arequipa.

The army of Bolivia, under the president, General Santa Cruz, with the Peruvian forces of Orbegozo, at this time advanced rapidly on Arequipa, and entered the city on the 30th of January, 1836, with four divisions under the orders of the Bolivians, Ballivian and Anglada, an Irishman named O'Connor, and a German named Braun.

The troops of Salaverry, however, still occupied the bridge over the river Chilé, that flows through Arequipa, and Santa Cruz was only able to form a barricade of cotton bales to oppose the advance of the enemy. On this occasion General Cerdeña was fearfully wounded in the mouth.

At last, a decisive battle was fought on the 13th of

February, 1836, at Socobaya, near Arequipa; when the army of Salaverry was entirely defeated. In vain the supreme chief attempted to rally his scattered troops, and killed seven flying soldiers with his own hand; the battle was lost, and he escaped with most of his officers towards the port of Islay, chased by General Miller, to whom he surrendered on receiving a guarantee for his own life and that of his followers.

The President of Bolivia, in defiance of this capitulation, a few days after the capture of the prisoners, declared Salaverry and his principal officers to be traitors, and by a council of war condemned them to be shot in the plaza of Arequipa.

Generals Salaverry and Fernandini, with Colonels Carrillo, Cardenas, Solar, Valdivia, Rivas, Picoaga, and Maya, were led out into the plaza on the 18th of February, 1836, each one saluting the supreme chief as he passed before him. A volley was then fired, which brought down all but Fernandini, who, breaking from his chair, ran to take sanctuary in the cathedral; but was stopped by the mob, who beat his brains out with clubs, and insulted his lifeless corpse.

Thus fell the accomplished, the promising Salaverry at the age of twenty-nine, one of the many victims of the miserable civil wars and revolutions of South America.*

* He was married to Doña Juana Perez, who is still living, and left two sons: Felipe, then only five years old, and Carlos, only born a few months before his father's cruel death.

His last letter, dated on the day of his execution, was written to his beloved wife, and runs as follows:—

“MY BELOVED JUANA,

In the space of a few hours I go to my execution, assassinated by Santa Cruz, and I wish to express my last thoughts. I have loved

Peru was now entirely conquered by Santa Cruz, who set about his favourite project of uniting Peru and Bolivia. Orbegozo became a mere tool in his hands; who, though furious at the dependent position he was forced to hold, was too weak-minded, and too fond of the vestiges of power, to retire.

Two assemblies were convoked by Santa Cruz; the one at Huara in the north, and the other at Sicuani, in both of which he was proclaimed Protector of the Peru-Bolivian confederation. His newly-acquired territory was divided into three states: that of the north, with Orbegozo as supreme chief, residing at Lima; the central state under Don Ramon Herrera at Cuzco; and the old republic of Bolivia formed the third.

The Dictator resided principally at Lima, with Don Garcia De Rios, and Don Casimiro Olañeta, nephew of the old Spanish general, as his ministers.

Santa Cruz is a short man, with dark complexion and Indian features, but possesses courteous and gentlemanlike manners. He is a man of ability, well educated, and remarkable for his integrity and honour—rare qualities among South American statesmen. But he was cruel and vindictive, and created many powerful enemies by the unnecessary severity of his measures against the followers of Salaverry and Gamarra.

you as much as I was able, and I leave this world with a feeling of deep regret at not having made you more happy. I preferred the good of my country to that of my family; and I have not been permitted to accomplish either the one or the other.

Be as happy as you can, and never forget your loving husband,
February 18, 1836.

SALAVERRY."

During his rule, Peru enjoyed a temporary period of peace, embezzlement and corruption in the public offices were checked, the enterprises of foreigners were encouraged, and strict attention was paid to the commercial interests of the country.

The other South American states, however, soon became jealous of the growing power and prosperity of the confederation; and eventually the Chilian republic declared war upon Santa Cruz. After an unsuccessful attempt on Arequipa, an expedition of 5400 men under General Bulnes, accompanied by Gamarra, La Fuente, Elespuru, and about sixty other Peruvian exiles, sailed from Valparaiso in 1838, and on the 6th of August landed at the little port of Ancon, a few miles north of Callao.

Dissensions had in the meanwhile broken out in the confederation, and the weak-minded and vacillating Orbegozo, with Generals Nieto and Vidal, had declared against Santa Cruz at Lima; but his hatred of Gamarra induced him also to oppose the Chilian invasion. In consequence of this defection, the Protector appointed General Riva Agüero, who had been the first president of the republic, supreme chief of the northern state.

On the 12th of August, the invaders marched on Lima, and Orbegozo, being defeated in the bloody battle of La Guia, a gate of the suburb of San Lazaro, retreated with Nieto into Callao Castle, and the Chilians occupied the capital.

When Santa Cruz, who was then at Cuzco, received tidings of this disaster, he issued a proclamation, saying:—

“Peruvians ! The defection of Orbegozo has opened the gates of Lima to a foreign enemy. As cowardly as he is ambitious, he has forgotten the rights of Peru, and yielded her to the power of odious conquerors.”

Leaving an army of reserve at Puno, under the Bolivian general Ballivian, he advanced with Don Trinidad Moran, a Columbian, on Lima, which was evacuated by the Chilians at his approach.

After a few days, Santa Cruz recommenced the pursuit, and encountered his enemies at a place called Yungay, on the river Santa, on the 20th of January, 1839. The battle was decisive, the Protector was hopelessly defeated, and fled along the coast towards Arequipa, intending to fall back on his army of reserve at Puno ; but Ballivian turned traitor, and pronounced against his former master.

The fallen Protector, now entirely without resources, escaped to Islay, and embarking on board H.M.S. Samarang, fled to Guayaquil.

By a subsequent treaty he was allowed a pension, and has now, for many years, resided in Paris.

The ambitious Gamarra was once more master of the situation, and the Chilians having embarked for their own country, he was proclaimed provisional President of the republic.

His first act was to banish all the generals who had served under Santa Cruz, including Orbegozo, Riva Agüero, Necochea, Cerdeña, Otero, Nieto, Pardo Zela, and Miller.*

* Orbegozo, after the death of Gamarra, was allowed to return to his native town of Truxillo, and died about 1846. Riva Agüero married a

On the 22nd of March, he assembled a congress at Huancayo, a little town in the Andes, where, surrounded by his army, and free from the troublesome press and conversation of the talkative people of Lima, it was sure to prove pliable to his will.

By a decree of September 25th, all resolutions passed by the assemblies at Sicuani and Huara, and all acts of the invader Santa Cruz, were declared null and void.

A new constitution was then proclaimed on the 10th of November, 1839, which is that by which Peru is now governed.

This constitution gave immense power to the executive, and diminished the independent action of the judges.

The congress is composed of a senate and chamber of deputies. The deputies are elected by electoral colleges, and represent 30,000 souls, or a fraction exceeding 15,000. The senate is composed of twenty-one citizens.

The president of the republic is the head of the executive power. He holds office for six years, and presides at a cabinet of four ministers of state. Under him is the council of state, composed of fifteen citizens elected by Congress, and presided over by a president and his vice-president.*

most agreeable and accomplished Belgian lady, and now resides at Lima. Necoechea is dead ; Cerdeña died at Lima in 1854 ; and Nieto was poisoned at Cuzco in 1843. Miller fled from Peru, on board H.M.S. President, and has now, for many years, been H.M. Consul-General in the Sandwich Islands.

* Guia de la Republica, por Don Edouardo Carrasco. Lima, 1841.

The judicial functions are exercised by a supreme court, resident at Lima, composed of seven vocales and a fiscal, which is the last court of appeal, and occupies the place of the royal audience of viceregal times. Under it are superior courts in each department, taking cognizance of civil and criminal causes of importance; judges of right in each province, and alcaldes or justices of the peace in every village.

For purposes of government, the republic is divided into twelve departments,* governed by prefects, which are subdivided into provinces under sub-prefects.

* According to the elections for the National Convention of 1855, the departments and provinces are as follows:—

DEPARTMENTS.	PROVINCES.
I. Amazonas	Chachapoyas, Maynas.
II. Ancach	{ Conchucos, Huari, Huaylas, Santa, Cajatambo.
III. Ayacucho	{ Andahuaylas, Huamanga, Huanta, Lucanas, Parinacochas.
IV. Caxamarca	Caxamarca, Cajabamba, Chota, Jaen.
V. Cuzco	{ Cuzco, Abancay, Anta, Aymaraes, Calca, Cotabambas, Cajas, Canchiz, Chumbivilcas, Paucartambo, Paruro, Quispicanchi, Urubamba.
VI. Huancavelica	{ Huancavelica, Castro-Vireyna, Angaraes, Tayacaga.
VII. Junin	Pasco, Xauxa, Huanuco, Huamalies.
VIII. Libertad	{ Truxillo, Chiclayo, Pataz, Huamachuco, Lambayeque, Piura.
IX. Lima	{ Lima, Canta, Cañete, Chancay, Yca, Yauyos, Callao.
X. Puno	{ Puno, Azangaro, Lampa, Huanacané, Chucuito, Carabaya.
XI. Arequipa	{ Arequipa, Camana, Cailloma, La Union, Condesuyos, Castilla.
XII. Moquegua	Tarapaca, Arica, Moquegua.

Total, 12 departments, and 65 provinces.

The provinces are again subdivided into districts under governors.

All these officers are appointed by the president, who is thus possessed of enormous power, and is enabled to influence the elections, and return a congress composed almost entirely of his own creatures.

"It consists," says Colonel Espinosa, himself a Peruvian, "of venal and ignorant deputies, who have obtained their elections by intrigue and fraud. There is one member who always keeps a prudent silence in the debates, and during three congresses has only once spoken, when he said, 'You lie.' A discourse more concise and to the point was never heard, even in a Spartan assembly."*

On the 10th of July, 1840, General Gamarra was proclaimed constitutional president of Peru, and restorer of the liberties of the country.

But it was not long before rebellion broke out against the new order of things.

On the 1st of January, 1841, Colonel Vivanco declared himself Regenerator of Peru, pronounced against Gamarra, and proclaimed that his acts were works of deceit and sedition, and that the Congress of Huancayo deliberated under the control of the army.† He was about thirty years of age, very handsome, and possessed of extraordinary conversational powers; but with inordinate ambition, quite out of proportion to his talent for governing or commanding an army. He has often been called the Alcibiades of Peru.

* *Herencia Española*, p. 55.

† *Declaracion de la aceptacion del mando de la Republica, por el Coronel Don Manuel Ygnacio Vivanco. Arequipa, 4th Jan., 1841.*

Gamarra nominated General Don Ramon Castilla to advance against him, with a small army; a man of a very different character from his brilliant antagonist.

A native of Tarapaca, in the far south of Peru, Castilla commenced life as a simple mule-driver, but enlisting in the Spanish army, he attained the rank of serjeant, and when the war of independence broke out, he received a commission from the patriots. Now somewhat advanced in years, he is a man of uncommon talent and aptitude for command, combined with dauntless courage, and constant presence of mind. Though comparatively uneducated, he possesses much practical sense; and though constantly victorious, he has ever been remarkable for his humanity. Of short stature, he has an upright figure, brilliant piercing black eyes, and aquiline nose. His features are those of a pure Indian.

This man, who was afterwards destined to restore peace and prosperity to his country, proved more than a match for the young and flighty Vivanco.

After two indecisive actions, fought at Siguan and Cachamarca, against La Fuente, Vivanco returned in triumph to receive felicitations at Arequipa; but in the mean time Castilla entirely defeated his second in command, General Boza, at Cuevillas, on the 5th of April, and entered Arequipa, whence the unfortunate young regenerator fled into Bolivia. Boza was taken prisoner and shot in the plaza, while Castilla was named prefect of the southern departments.*

* Defensa del Gobierno legitimo del Gran Mariscal Gamarra. Arequipa, 1841. (A pamphlet.)

Santa Cruz, who was in exile at Guayaquil, had not yet given up all hopes of restoration, and many agents of the ex-protector were scattered over Peru.

Gamarra, under the pretext that his party was intriguing in Bolivia, declared war upon that republic on the 2nd of July, 1841; and leaving the government at Lima in the hands of Don Manuel Menendez, he put himself at the head of an army, and advanced to the frontier.

The President of Bolivia, General Velasco, resigned his authority to Ballivian, a tall and handsome man, whose treason had ruined the cause of Santa Cruz. He declared there existed no party in Bolivia in favour of Santa Cruz, and that Gamarra's invasion was unnecessary. The latter retorted that Ballivian himself was a creature of the ex-protector, and for that reason alone resolved to advance with his army.

On the 24th of October, General San Roman gained a slight advantage over the Bolivians at Mecapaca; but on the 20th of November the hostile armies met at a place called Yngavi, near La Paz, where the Peruvians sustained a complete defeat. Gamarra himself was killed in the battle, and his body ridden over by a squadron of cavalry; and Castilla, the second in command, was taken prisoner, with many other officers, while San Roman with difficulty escaped to Peru.

When Castilla was brought before the Bolivian chief, the latter accused him of being the cause of the war, hit him a blow in the face which knocked some of his teeth out, and banished him to the distant town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra.

Ballivian, with his victorious army, now crossed the frontier and occupied Puno, but he met a creditable and determined resistance. General San Roman organised a corps at Cuzco, Nieto formed another at Arequipa, and Bermudez collected a reserve in the north. General La Fuente was named commander-in-chief in the south, and General Don Juan Crisostomo Torico in the north; but, by the mediation of Chil , a treaty of peace was finally signed at Puno on the 7th of June, 1842, between Peru and Bolivia, by the Chilean Envoy, Lavalle, the Peruvian Mariategui, and Ballivian on the part of Bolivia.

Peru was left without a head by the death of Gamarra; and the mischief attendant on a military republic, if it had not already been made so by previous causeless civil war, became evident from the anarchy into which the unfortunate country was plunged. Dissensions soon broke out among the now irresponsible generals, who all disobeyed the orders of Menendez, who, as president of the council of state, became by the constitution, provisional president of the republic. La Fuente openly defied his authority, and was declared a rebel; and that chief proclaimed General Vidal, who had been vice-president of the council of state under Gamarra, provisional president.

The like sedition also broke out in Lima, where General Torico deposed Menendez, and declared himself supreme chief of the nation in August 1842. He was joined by General San Roman with a small force, by Colonel Lopera, and some others.

Vidal and La Fuente, leaving Vivanco prefect of

Arequipa, then advanced to Ayacucho, and detached General Zubiaga against Lopera. An action was fought between them at Inca-Huasi, near Xauxa, in which Zubiaga was mortally wounded.

In September, Vidal and La Fuente crossed the Cordillera from Ayacucho to Yca, and marching to Pisco, encountered the forces of Torico and San Roman at a place called Agua-santa, near the rich sugar-estate of Caucato. After a short engagement, and when the battle was still undecided, Torico and San Roman ran away, hardly ever drawing rein till they reached Callao, where they embarked on board a vessel, and left the country. On the other side, Vidal also ran away, and hid himself among the carob trees on the other side of Yca. La Fuente thus remained master of the field, and shortly afterwards Vidal and La Fuente occupied Lima, and took possession of the supreme power.*

After the battle of Agua-santa, an unfortunate soldier was shot, by order of these runaway generals, for desertion. But the poor Indians and negroes of the neighbourhood could see no sin in the conduct of the unfortunate soldier ; and burying his body, they have since erected a little tomb over it, about a yard square, in which his jacket, pierced by two bullets, is preserved.

* During these disturbances, Colonel Don Justo Herculles, in January 1842, under the protection of General Flores, President of Ecuador, had entered Peru with 100 armed men, and advanced to Piura, with the ostensible object of restoring Orbegozo's constitution of 1834. In a month he had advanced to Huaraz, and his force had swelled to 1150 men ; but at Vehui-huanuco he was met by Colonels Bustamante and Coloma, with two battalions, entirely defeated, and shot ; while his second in command, Colonel Cespedes, was killed by women, who dragged the body along the ground.

They spend a portion of their hard earnings in masses for his soul.*

When comparative tranquillity was established under the government of Vidal, Vivanco refused to disband his forces at Arequipa; and on the 28th of January, 1843, pronounced against the then order of things. Cuzco, Ayacucho, and the troops at Xauxa declared for him, and, with such an auspicious commencement, the former regenerator marched towards Lima, proclaiming his readiness to assemble a congress and establish order. Vidal and La Fuente fled from Lima, and on the 20th of March that city was placed in Vivanco's power by Colonel Aramburu. The ambitious chief entered the capital in triumph on the 8th of April, and dropping his former unlucky title of regenerator, styled himself supreme director.

Far from keeping the fair promises he had made on his march, Vivanco ruled without a legislative assembly of any kind, arbitrarily appointed a council of state, and tried to force his generals to take an oath of obedience to any laws he might think proper to make.† His absurd decrees, and arrogant bearing disgusted many of the leading men of the country; and at last Generals Castilla, Nieto, and Iguain landed with a small force in the department of Moquegua, and declaring that they came to restore the constitution, commenced a war against the director.

Vivanco sent General Guarda against them, whom Castilla defeated, with a greatly inferior force, at San

* Cartas sobre el Peru, p. 31.

† Guia de Ayacucho. 1847.

Antonio; and the supporters of the constitution advanced into the interior, routed Colonel Lopera at Balsapata on the Apurimac, and took possession of Cuzco. Nieto was here established as president of a junta of five, and Castilla became general-in-chief of the constitutional army.

General Iguain was left prefect of Tacna, where he insulted Mr. Wilson, the British Consul, and otherwise conducted himself in a manner, towards the English, which demanded reparation.

From Lima the wife of Castilla, a lady of the Arequipa family of Canseco, sent expresses to her husband, informing him of all the movements of Vivanco. Having intercepted one of these, the director locked her up; but in the night she made up a large doll, put it in the bed, dressed herself as a negress, and, eluding the vigilance of the sentry, effected her escape.

The lady of General Nieto, a niece of the archbishop of Lima, also forwarded useful information to her husband. Vivanco, having appointed Don Domingo Elias prefect of Lima, found it absolutely necessary to take the field against Castilla.

The campaign opened by the advance of Colonel Lopera with 500 men upon Andahuaylas; but his troops mutinied at Ocobamba, on the 23rd of December, 1843, and joined Nieto; the colonel only escaping by throwing his epaulettes, one after the other, on the prickly pear bushes that lined the road, and by exciting the cupidity of his pursuers, retarded their chase, and thus effected his escape.

Vivanco, who had occupied Ayacucho, was in the habit of walking about in a long scarlet cloak with an ermine cape, and a cocked hat with an immense plume of feathers; but he was soon obliged again to take the field, and took possession of the province of Andahuaylas with 6000 men.

At this time General Nieto died suddenly at Cuzco, and Castilla thus became president of the junta, and head of his party.

Reverses now followed thickly on each other, and ruin lowered round the unlucky director. His troops, under Ortiz, were defeated by Colonel Frisancho, at Hualpacho near Junin; General Echenique turned traitor to his cause at Xauxa; and thus baffled in all his plans, he retreated by a painful march across the Cordillera, and entered the city of Arequipa.

Meanwhile, Don Domingo Elias, hearing that Vivanco's army was in a deplorably disorganised state, and that he stood every chance of being defeated, declared against him in Lima; and organising some troops among his tenants at Yca and Pisco, declared himself "president, by accident in charge of the executive."

The last scene of the disgraceful civil wars which had lasted since the death of Gamarra, was now drawing to a close.

Uniting with General San Roman, and Colonels Iguain and Cisneros, Castilla marched towards Arequipa; but in the burning deserts of the coast his troops were reduced to the last necessity. On his approach, Vivanco came out of the city to meet him;

but instead of avoiding a combat and reducing the enemy to extremities, one of his battalions, under Lopera, commenced the action without orders on the 17th of July, 1844. A general engagement followed at a place called Carmen Alto, in which Vivanco, who watched the combat from an adjacent church-tower, was utterly defeated. The director escaped to Islay, and left the country, while the generous victor pardoned all those who had been compromised in his usurpation.

Castilla then marched in triumph along the coast towards Lima, where Elias resigned; and Castilla made use of his victory to restore the constitutional provisional president Don Manuel Menendez, who had been deposed by the turbulent General Torico. A civilian in those times of anarchy, had little chance of being allowed to remain in office by the grasping military chiefs.

On the 19th of April, 1845, grand marshal Don Ramon Castilla was elected by Congress president of the republic of Peru.

Peace was at length restored to the land after a long period of anarchy and civil war; and the land of the Incas owes a debt of the deepest gratitude to him who has procured for her even this short period of tranquillity.

The effects of security and a settled government soon became visible. Works of enterprise were undertaken in different parts of the country, both by foreigners and natives. New mines were opened; a cotton factory was established at Lima, and the great

capitalists, Oyague and Candamo, had opened a railroad between Callao and Lima, before the presidency of Castilla had concluded. The little navy* too, to which the president paid great attention, was increased and improved.

During the presidency of Castilla, a new and rapidly increasing source of wealth was opened to Peru, in the demand for guano to reclaim the worn-out lands of Europe and of the United States; and the revenue was thus sensibly increased. The yield of the silver mines, which in 1835 had been estimated at 630,000*l.*, made a considerable advance; saltpetre began to be exported in considerable quantities from the port of Iquique; † and alpaca ‡ and vicuña wool from Islay and Arica.

For the first time since the declaration of independence the creditors of the English loan began to receive their dividends; and in 1847 Castilla also acknowledged the great internal debt of the country, amounting to several million dollars, which was

*

NAVY IN 1843.

Corvette Yungay	. . .	22 guns.
Barque Limeña	. . .	16 „
Brig Constitucion	. . .	16 „
Schooner Libertad	. . .	2 carronades.

NAVY IN 1853.

Paddle-wheel steamer Rimac	. . .	two 68's, four 24's.
Screw steam-frigate Amazonas	. . .	24 guns.
Brigs { Gamarra	. . .	16 „
{ Almirante Guise	. . .	16 „
Schooner Libertad	. . .	one 9-pounder.

† Exportation of saltpetre from Iquique to England, in 1854, 606,972 quintals.—*Commercio*, Nov. 10, 1854.

‡ Exportation of alpaca wool from the port of Islay to England is 20,000 to 23,000 quintals a year; at Arica a like quantity is shipped.

formed into a fund with good interest, and added to the security of the constitutional government. (See Appendix B.)

Other signs of prosperity also began to show themselves. The sugar, cotton, and vine proprietors introduced steam machinery, and improved methods of working on their estates; bridges and other public works were commenced; new houses were built in Lima; and where, in 1844, nothing was to be seen but the old-fashioned two-wheeled caleche drawn by a single mule, numbers of English broughams and phaetons now drive through the streets of the capital.

The commencement of Castilla's administration was clouded by a misunderstanding with the English authorities, relating to the insult offered to the British Consul at Tacna, by General Iguain;* but this difference was arranged by the banishment of the offender, and a visit of the president in enormous boots and tight leather breeches, to Sir George Seymour, on board H.M.S. Collingwood, restored amicable relations between the two countries.

The relations of Castilla with the Bolivian republic assumed for some time a very threatening aspect. The great object of that country, whose only outlet to the Pacific consisted in the wretched little port of Cobija, separated by many leagues of sandy desert from any other inhabited place, was to extend its coast-line, and, above all, to gain possession of the port of Arica,

* Iguain died in 1852, while under arrest in the barracks of Santa Catalina, at Lima.

through which nearly the whole of her trade now passes.

In November 1846, Castilla's government suddenly raised the duties on Bolivian merchandise, against which Ballivian, the President of Bolivia, strongly remonstrated; and after a year of stormy negotiations, while on the one hand a treaty was signed at Arequipa in 1847,* on the other a revolution took place, headed by Belzu. Ballivian was driven from the country, and Castilla was avenged for the defeat of Yngavi, and the gross personal insult offered to himself.†

Internally the president's government was only disturbed by one seditious movement in the barracks at Bella Vista, near Callao, instigated by General San Roman, which was promptly suppressed by the energy and intrepidity of Castilla.

In 1851 the constitutional term of Castilla's government concluded, and he summoned the electoral colleges to nominate a successor.

The principal candidates were Don Domingo Elias, General Don José Rufino Echenique, who had been president of the council of state during Castilla's administration, and Generals Vivanco and San Roman.

After a contest, which was never doubtful, in which Elias gained the votes in his own province of Yca; and Vivanco in the city of Arequipa, where he was very popular; Echenique was proclaimed president of the republic in the spring of 1851, and the upright Castilla, after having been the first president who

* Bolivia y sus grandes partidos, p. 20-1.

† Ballivian died of yellow fever, in 1851, at Rio de Janeiro.

served his constitutional term of six years, retired into private life.

General Echenique is a native of Puno, of good family, and is married to Victoria, daughter of Don Pio Tristan, the last Spanish Intendente of Arequipa. In the war of independence he joined the Patriots, and was a prisoner on one of the islands of lake Titicaca, at the time of the battle of Ayacucho. Subsequently, through his treason towards Bermudez, the authority of Orbegozo was established at Maquinhuyo; and he fought at Yungay on the side of Santa Cruz. In 1844 he deserted the cause of Vivanco at Xauxa, and was elected into the council of state on the accession of Castilla's government.

His ministers were General Torico, war and marine; Don Manuel Tirado, foreign affairs; Dr. Charun, bishop elect of Truxillo, the interior; and General Medina, president of the council of state.

Towards the end of the year 1853, a general feeling of discontent against the existing government began to manifest itself.

At length General Castilla considered it his duty to raise the standard of revolt at Arequipa, and he almost immediately gained the support of the southern departments. Thus, after a cessation of nearly ten years, a civil war again began to distract the country.

Don Domingo Elias, who had previously made two unsuccessful movements, one at Piura, and the other at Yca, also joined the weight of his name to the cause of Castilla; who, on the first of June, 1854, issued the following proclamation from Cuzco.

“The citizen Don Ramon Castilla, Grand Marshal of the national armies, and General-in-chief of the liberating army of Peru, considering—

I. “That in the cities and departments of Arequipa, Moquegua, Cuzco and Puno, I have been declared Provisional President of the Republic, and decorated with the glorious name of Liberator.

II. “That though he was formerly invested with the government of the Republic, General Don José Rufino Echenique has vacated it, in consequence of his dereliction of duty.

III. “That this dereliction is likely to have a baneful influence on the future destinies of the country.

IV. “That, at the same time, the people have declared their desire that those reforms, which are so notoriously necessary and have been the moving causes of this revolution, should be put in force.”

DECREED.

I. “I accept the supreme magistracy of the Republic under the title of Provisional President, and with the extraordinary powers that have been conferred on me, for the better arrangement of public affairs.

II. “At the expiration of thirty days after the pacification of the country, I will convoke a congress to whom I will render an account of my actions, and complete the reorganisation of the country.”*

* His circular to the foreign ministers at Lima, was not so dignified. After recapitulating the delinquencies and corruption of Echenique's Government, he concludes by a sentence which sounds very like a tradesman requesting a renewal of custom, owing to his former good conduct.

Castilla commenced the campaign of 1854, by marching from Cuzco, towards Ayacucho and Huan-cavelica ; while Elias remained at Arequipa.

Echenique possessed every advantage that the actual occupation of power, and a standing army faithful to his cause, could give him ; but he was without talent or capacity to overcome difficulties.

In March, General Torico was sent against Arequipa ; but, after looking at the city from the adjacent heights of Paucarpata, he returned to Lima, declaring that an attack would have involved him in a similar fate to that of the English General Whitelocke at Buenos Ayres.

In November another expedition was sent to the south, under General Moran, who landed at Arica, and advanced against Elias with 1150 men. The two armies met at a place called Alto del Conde, near Moquegua, on the 16th, and after a battle, in which 270 men were killed or wounded, the troops of Echenique were victorious.

Moran,* following up his success, advanced on Arequipa, and was joined by General Vivanco from Islay, who had espoused the cause of Echenique.

“Siendo ademas demasiado conocidos sus precedentes politicos, espera fundadamente que continuara mereciendo la confianza que los gobiernos Americanos han tenido siempre en la lealtad de sus sentimientos, y en la franqueza de su política.”

* A letter from Tacna thus speaks of the excellent General Guarda, who had preceded Moran in the command of the Southern Department :—

“The departure of General Guarda from Tacna has been much felt, as he left numerous friends, and was universally esteemed for his kindness, and because he had avoided everything evil in the difficult circumstances under which he commanded, in a divided country, and during a civil war.

After the battle of Alto del Conde, Don Domingo Elias retreated to Arequipa with the remains of his forces. On the 30th of November, Moran attacked the city, but was fiercely resisted by the inhabitants, who barricaded the streets, and fought bravely. The combat lasted during the night, and in the morning, General Moran found himself, not only beaten, but surrounded and forced to surrender in the beautiful *quinta* of the Landazuris, on the east side of the city.

Two hours afterwards the unfortunate general was declared by the people to be a sanguinary stranger, and shot in the great square of Arequipa. It is to be feared that Elias was a party to this useless murder.

While the revolution was thus completely triumphant in the south, General Castilla had advanced to Huan-cavelica; and having, by avoiding a general action, tired out and outwitted the president Echenique, who had marched against him, the latter was forced to return dispirited to Lima.

Castilla then descended from the Cordillera by way of Lurin, entirely defeated the army of Echenique in the battle of La Palma, on the road to Chorillos, and entered Lima in triumph on the 5th of January, 1855.

The old veteran, after a long campaign, thus found himself once more in possession of supreme power; and, with a ministry consisting of Don Domingo Elias,

The division which, by his energetic patriotism, he has augmented to 900 men well disciplined, has also participated in the universal regret; and not without reason, for this distinguished general, conqueror in Arica, pacificator of the greater part of the department of Moquegua, had advanced the work of snatching the south from the power of the factious. To the veteran General Moran it is reserved to complete this work."

finance; Don Toribio Ureta, foreign affairs; Señor Galvez, interior and justice; and Señor Mar, war and marine; * he commenced extensive reforms.

The infamous capitation tax on the Indians, which had continued since the days of Spanish tyranny, had been abolished by a decree of Castilla, dated Ayacucho, the 5th of July, 1854; and, in the following October, a decree, dated from Huancayo, put an end to slavery throughout the republic.

In conformity with the promise contained in his decree of the 1st of June, 1854, he issued orders for the election of a National Convention,† which assembled at Lima on the 14th of July, 1855; and the provisional president read a long speech, in which the progress of the revolution was detailed, and an account rendered of the acts of government since the final defeat of Echenique.

Such is a brief account of the troubles and calamities of the land of the Incas since it threw off the Spanish yoke. Quite unprepared for freedom, the ill-fated country fell a prey to the ambitious designs of incompetent, and, but too often, unprincipled military adventurers.

Meanwhile the prosperity and progress of the country remained but empty words in the mouths of its rulers;

* The three latter ministers have since resigned.

† By a decree dated February 5, 1855, the regulations for the election of deputies, 80 in-number, were promulgated.

Every male over 21 years of age, born in Peru, and exercising the rights of citizenship, has a vote.

To be a deputy, it is necessary to be a citizen, born in Peru, upwards of 28 years of age, and with a yearly income of \$600. They are allowed \$8 daily, during the session, and travelling expenses paid.

the people, during the endless civil wars, were reduced to great distress; and the revolutions entailed constant sorrow and disaster on the families of the conquered party.

But even during this calamitous period of thirty years of misgovernment, Peru had advanced slowly, but surely; the kind and excellent dispositions possessed by the majority of the people, combined with the talent they undoubtedly have, has enabled her to bear up against the adverse tide of anarchy which has flooded her plains with blood; and the rapid advance made during the few years of tranquillity she has lately enjoyed, prove how capable are her sons and daughters of taking a place, eventually, in the list of cultivated and civilised nations.

Taught in the school of adversity, and having gone through a long and severe probation, we may indulge a hope that Peru has at length escaped from military oppression; and that a brighter future is before her.

RULERS OF THE REPUBLIC.

1821. Protector, San Martin.	1834. Supreme Chief, Salaverry.
1823. President, Riva Agüero.	1836. Dictator, Santa Cruz.
1823. Supreme Delegate, the Marquis of Torre Tagle.	1839. President, Gamarra.
1824. Dictator, Bolivar.	1841. (Acting), Menendez.
1826. Marshal, Santa Cruz.	1842. Supreme Chief, Torico.
1827. President, La Mar.	1842. Supreme Chief, Vidal.
1829. President, Gamarra.	1843. Director, Vivanco.
1833. (Sedition), Bermudez.	1844. (Acting), Menendez.
1833. President, Orbegozo.	1845. President, Castilla.
1834. (Acting), the Count of Vista Florida.	1851. President, Echenique.
	1855. President, Castilla.

CHAPTER XI.

LIMA.

THE MODERN LITERATURE AND SOCIETY OF PERU.

THIRTY years ago, amidst the hopes of the liberals in all parts of Europe, and the congratulations of Mr. Canning, with the aid of British money, and at the price of British blood, the vast colonial empire of Spain fell to pieces, and a number of South American republics came into existence.

The great mineral riches of that magnificent continent, it was believed, would be opened to the world; new channels for the disposal of European manufactures would be discovered; and a rapid advance in liberal institutions, in literature, and in material prosperity, would be, it was hoped, the certain consequences of the establishment of freedom in those beautiful countries; so blessed by nature, and hitherto, at least since the Spanish conquest, so neglected by man.

And what has hitherto been the results of this great experiment.

Suddenly the restraints of a tyrannical and selfish colonial government were cast aside, and the wild spirit of liberty rushed forth without a guide, without a landmark. Anarchy and confusion have followed,

revolution has succeeded revolution, each one more unprincipled and reckless than its predecessor, until civilised nations have ceased to count them, and it may almost be said of them, what Milton said of the wars of of the Saxon Heptarchy, "that they are not more worthy of being recorded than the skirmishes of crows and kites."

But, at the same time, the minds of the people were set almost entirely free; and, when such is the case, the inevitable effect must be some great intellectual movement either for good or evil. A free circulation of books, and a general demand for translations of French and English works, followed the declaration of independence, and their influence on the mode of thinking has been apparent.

Notwithstanding the wretched universities, the defective system of education, and the anarchy of the state, the cultivation of literature has made decided progress; and, in Peru especially, some works of considerable merit have recently appeared. The South American character, in losing much of the dignity and strict loyalty of the Spaniard, has obtained, through a mixture of Indian blood, which in Peru is almost universal, a vivacity of temper and a rapidity of thought which has gone far to compensate for the loss.

The young men especially, educated at the university of San Marcos, the oldest in the New World, or the college of San Carlos at Lima, though spending much of their time in cafés and billiard-rooms, and devoted, it must be confessed, to cock-fighting and gambling, are extremely agreeable in conversation, and frequently

well read. But, above all, the women of Lima form the most attractive part of Peruvian society.

Frequently very beautiful, with brilliant black eyes, graceful figures, and bright intelligent expressions, they, at the same time, possess much natural cleverness, exquisite wit, and most pleasing manners. Until a few years ago, they wore, when walking abroad, a very becoming and elegant dress, now only seen at bull-fights, religious processions, and other great occasions—called the *saya y manto*. To a full satin skirt was attached a black silk mantle, which, passing over the head, was held so as only to expose one brilliant eye to view, and leave the imagination of the beholder to fill up the enchanting picture.*

Since the introduction of steamboats and railroads, however, this truly national costume has given way to modern French fashions. But the ladies of Lima, though they have lost their characteristic dress, still retain their loftier qualities, and are infinitely superior to the men in natural talent and intelligence.

With such society, a residence in Lima cannot fail to be otherwise than agreeable; and besides the Italian Opera and pleasant dinner-parties, a grand ball and fêtes of various kinds yield frequent opportunities of observation.

A ball on a large scale is a rare occurrence, and the late president, General Echenique, was particularly sparing in his entertainments. There is an occasional

* Formerly the petticoat, or skirt, fitted close to the legs, but in the time of President Orbegozo, about 1834, the full skirt, or *saya orbegozeña*, was introduced.

one given at the house of the late Marquis of Torre Tagle, one of the finest in Lima, now belonging to his heiress, who has married a lawyer named Sevallos. The entrance, through a fine doorway, with stone posts richly carved, and up a handsome staircase, leads to a broad corridor, with a finely carved roof, supported by Moorish arches.

The grand *sala*, a spacious room, with latticed balconies looking into the street, containing some very fine cabinets inlaid with mother-of-pearl and silver, made a very good ball-room.

On these occasions the festivities continue until four in the morning, when there is a hot supper. All the rooms in the house, including bed-rooms, are thrown open, some for dancing, some for gambling, others for refreshments; and the guests wander through the long vistas of apartments, in the intervals of the dance.

Balls and gambling are the chief occupations of the people of Lima, the latter especially, which is their besetting sin, and is prevalent even among the clergy. The young men but too often lead lives of indolence and frivolity,* as is seen in their general want of application, and is exemplified in the scanty periodical literature of the country.

* A recent author laments the prevailing frivolity of the Peruvian youth, in the following words :—

“Nuestra juventud abandonada, piensa menos en academias literarias que ilustren, que en academias de baile que enseñen polkas. Es muy feo un hombre hecho y derecho atendido a sus padres, sin mas oficio que andar visitando, chismeando, a unas familias con otras, o cuando mas escribiendo unas coplas, y enamorando por los periodicos a su Celia, a su Filis, a su Rosa, ó a su Azucena ; estas no son ocupaciones por republicanos.”

When the independence was declared, several newspapers came into existence, adopting the utmost licence, indulging in the coarsest abuse, and but too often bribed and controlled by the existing government. The columns of the daily newspapers are still almost entirely occupied in unseemly invective against prominent and influential men; varied by the paltry squabbles of actors or singers, and bad poetry.

Pamphlets, too, frequently appear at Lima, and other towns of Peru, on political subjects, full of scurrility and libel. They form but too large a portion of the works, few as they are, which issue from the Peruvian press.

But, though the surface is polluted by such productions, there have not been wanting in Peru, political writers of talent and learning, who have redeemed the literature of their country from contempt.

There are, also, some few men who combine enlarged and liberal views with the more prominent characteristics of their countrymen; and who, never having changed their opinions, either for bribes or power, speak out openly and fearlessly; and look for the causes of the misrule and wretched condition of their country, to the more distant evils entailed upon it by three hundred years of Spanish domination, rather than in the treason of this general, or the venality of that.

Such a man is Colonel Espinosa, the author of several political pamphlets and reviews, but whose chief title to fame rests on a work called "*La Herencia Española*;" in which, in a series of letters to Isabella II.,

he ascribes all the misery under which his country groans, to the wretched policy of her ancestors.*

It is ably and cleverly written, and sets forth the causes of the corrupt government of Peru in a masterly style, sparing his own countrymen as little as the descendants of their oppressors.

"The Americans," he exclaims, "have inherited from the Spaniards their idleness, their pride, and their love of ornamenting themselves with decorations. The origin of our bad government is, that the peninsula is the worst governed country in the world, where all real merit is persecuted, as were Columbus, Cortes, Cervantes, and a thousand others.

"In fine, the Americans are incorrigible, because they believe themselves to be a very superior people; and because they will not acknowledge their sad inferiority in comparison with the people of Europe. We are the worst class of invalids, because we will not confess our disease, nor accept a remedy; and like madmen, we turn on the physicians who, for humanity's sake, would attempt our cure."

He is unsparing with the faults of the institutions of his country, and declaims vehemently, but with too much justice, against the corruption and incapacity of its government. And thus he goes on to point out the faults and follies of his time. Every class of society feels the lash, and even the priesthood, which in old Spain was respected almost to idolatry, fails to escape the invectives of the Peruvian satirist.

* *La Herencia Española de los Americanos. Seis cartas criticas a Isabel segunda, por el Coronel Don Juan Espinosa.* Lima, 1852.

"Those Bibles," he says in bitter irony, "those horrid Bibles, in Spanish, came to corrupt us, and to teach us that there is much contradiction between the precepts of Jesus Christ, and the practices of our priests." *

This, it will be thought, was a bold speech for a Romanist to make, but it is characteristic not only of the individual feeling of the author, but of many of those who think and read most in Peru. A little further on, he carries his defiance of tyranny and popery still further, and thus apostrophises his Holiness the present pope.†

"Pius IX.! enter, enter Rome: enter as did Sylla, proscribing your fellow-citizens. Enter like the cholera—destroying. Enter, surrounded by a staff of strangers. Rule your country with them, and then open the page of history that you may learn, that in all time, he who calls strangers into his country, is oppressed, despoiled, ruined, and deceived by them.

"Pius IX.! Pius IX.! you, who might have been the first man of the age, are its disgrace: you, who might have been the liberator of Italy, are its oppressor. You announced yourself as a wise reformer and eminent man; and, by your example, you have confirmed the opinion that a pope can never be a good temporal prince.

"You have said in your perplexity, 'Perish humanity; but save my divine right.' What an error! Humanity *will* be saved because God has redeemed it. Because Jesus Christ consented to die, nailed on a cross,

* Page 123.

† Page 193.

for it, and *you* will not consent to lose a single gilded fringe from your throne. The Redeemer allowed men to place a crown of thorns on His head, and a sceptre of reed in His hand; but *you*, with your tiara of three crowns, and your staff with three crosses, will not yield a single one of your privileges. What a proud and cruel vicar of a God of humility and meekness!

“God preserve your life, O most holy Father, that you may be the last of your line. Amen! Amen! Amen!”*

The whole work breathes a similar strain of hatred of oppression, and misgovernment; though evidencing, in many parts, a deep feeling of kindness and philanthropy. It is interspersed with several interesting anecdotes.

Colonel Espinosa is the author of several other smaller works, among which may be mentioned an able pamphlet on the colonisation of the banks of the Amazon; in which he strongly defends the free right of navigation, in opposition to the monopoly placed upon it by the Brazilian government.†

His latest production has been a printed defence of a Colonel Mogaburu, who, in the end of 1854, was accused of rebellion, and tried by a court-martial. The pamphlet was so violent against the late government of General Echenique, that it was suppressed.‡

It is curious, from the novel line of defence he takes

* He dismisses the Pope by quoting Isaiah, chap. i., verses 21 to 27; and chap. iii., verse 14.

† Colonizacion y navegacion del Amazonas. Lima, 1853.

‡ Defensa del ex-Coronel Mogaburu, por el Coronel Espinosa. Lima, 1854.

up, in which he boldly accuses the judges of the same offence, and then bursts out into an eloquent panegyric on rebellions in general.

"The act," he says, "for which my client is tried, is not one that scandalises for the first time; but one so common among us, that it would be difficult to point out a dozen public men who have never committed the offence, as well in our profession as in every other. Therefore we need not fear the end of the world, because this sub-prefect has pronounced against the government in Yca, when so many generals, prefects, and ministers have done the same. If, therefore, the law condemns all who rebel against authority, to be stoned, who shall throw the first stone at my client, unless he has less shame than the Pharisees, who retired from before our Lord, silent and confused."

This is a good specimen of the bold, undaunted language of Colonel Espinosa, who, incapable of prostituting his talents for the sake of gain, may be selected as one of the worthiest writers in South America, and one whose example is likely to form a turning-point for the much needed reform of political authorship.

His argument is perhaps the best that could have been used for the defence of his client under the circumstances. But, at the same time, these constant cases of military treason are the roots of all the evils Peru has suffered since the independence. A useless standing army, with an enormous proportion of generals and superior officers in comparison with the number of soldiers, weighs like an incubus on the country.

The private soldiers who are mostly hardy young

Indians from the sierra, make excellent soldiers, well suited for a mountainous country; but the officers who command them, accustomed to an idle and dissipated life in Lima or the other great towns, are, for the most part, unworthy to lead such men into action.

The greatest and most important evil caused by the army, is the cruel system of recruiting, or rather pressing, when the unfortunate Indians are torn from their homes and families, and forced to enter a service they detest. This gives rise to another cause of misfortune to the country, which is the physical power it places in the hands of the generals and superior officers, who are generally a set of ambitious and unprincipled men, ready to plunge their country into civil war.

It has been seen that rebellion is defended by Colonel Espinosa, who looks upon it as at least a venial offence, if not a public duty; and this feeling, in which it is ever so perilous to indulge, is very prevalent in South America, where the leaders of revolt are looked up to, by many, as the benefactors of their country.

This is apparent in a biography,* lately published at Lima, of General Salaverry, that young and chivalrous spirit, who fell a victim to his ambition in the civil war of 1836. The author, a young man named Manuel Bilbao, evidently possesses considerable talent, and the work is interesting from the tone of affection in which it is written.

He defends with a vehemence, sometimes rising into

* "*Historia del General Salaverry, por Manuel Bilbao.*" Lima, 1853.

eloquence, the most questionable acts of his hero, and is minutely particular as to his personal appearance.

The work is worthy of notice, as one of the first, and certainly the best of its kind that has appeared in Peru; and, throughout, it breathes a spirit of devotion and lofty feeling which is very attractive.

But the imagination of the Peruvian youth has naturally found a vent in poetry, as well as in biographies of the heroes of their land. In many respects, the beautiful land of the Incas, abounding in all the most stupendous as well as the most charming of nature's works, was eminently adapted for the favourite haunt of poesy. Accordingly we find amongst the Incas, and their pastoral descendants, the most beautiful and heart-stirring creations of poetic imagination, composed in the native Quichua language; but since the Spanish conquest, poems in that language have been well-nigh effaced from the land, and appear only in the sad and plaintive elegies, which are sometimes heard in the wildest recesses of the mighty Andes.

But the Spanish creoles of Peru took up, in some measure, the local inspiration of the conquered race.

The Prince of Esquilache, as has been before noticed, was a poet of no slight renown in his time, and as viceroy of Peru, gave the first stimulus to the cultivation of poetry. In his steps followed, during the period of Spanish power, Evia, the famous bard of Guayaquil; Pedro de Oña, of Chili, who wrote a sequel to Ercilla's *Araucana*; Barnuevo, the poet of Lima; and Rivero of Arequipa; all poets of some note, both in Peru and the mother country.

Since the independence, and the general emancipation of the Peruvian mind, poetry and music have been much cultivated by the frivolous but imaginative youth of that enchanting country.

The society of Lima, however, is too artificial and dissipated to form a suitable soil for the growth of poetic genius ; and though the city is surrounded by the most romantic and inviting spots, there seems to be an almost universal indifference, if not a dislike, to country life.

There are places within short distances of Lima, which in any flourishing state would be covered with country seats and small villas, but in Peru they are neglected. Such is the charming little village of Coca-chaca, on the road to Tarma, about forty miles from the capital ; and surrounded, like the happy valley of Rasselas, by almost perpendicular mountains. Near the coast, also, there are many spots along the willow-lined banks of the Rimac, where Boscan or Garcilasso might have composed their idyls, and where numerous English naval officers constantly pass the day, sauntering along, fishing for small trout,* or roasting potatoes at a fire of dry sticks ; but no educated Peruvian is ever seen to frequent these sequestered haunts.

Excepting when all the world, on the 23rd of June, goes out to the hill of Amancaes to pick daffodils ; or proceeds on All Saint's Day, to promenade in the pantheon or great cemetery outside the walls of the town ; the fashion of Lima is not fond of moving beyond the busy streets, save when the bathing season attracts every one to the wretched little sea place of

Chorillos. Here the time is passed in bathing, and the most fearful gambling.

Notwithstanding, however, this vitiated state of society, some poetry of considerable merit has lately issued from the Peruvian press.

A production of this class,* by a young gentleman named Marquez, which contains several very beautiful passages, has lately been published at Lima.

"La Flor de Abel," says Colonel Espinosa, who has reviewed it, "is one of the most spiritual creations of the age. It is a defence of innocence and charity in a heroic combat against the worldly selfishness which devours us."

Abel, the first victim of selfishness, is described as—

"El anjel en los cielos mas querido ; "

and again as

" el misterioso mensajero
De la celeste compasion ; el vuela
Sobre la luz de nitido lucero
Que de algun lago en el cristal riel ;
Las nubes del crepúsculo, lijero
Le ven pasar, cual luminosa estela,
Y avanzar silencioso y escondido
Al hogar donde llora el desvalido.
Tienen alma y voces á su acento
La flór modesta, y el callado viento.
Anjel de amor ! "

The haughty figure of an exiled veteran appears in the second canto, whose innocent daughter, Elena, was the possessor of the flower of Abel, or of innocence. The angel had given it to her, in a vision, saying,—

"Oh ! nunca, nunca la dejes
Abandonada y perdida,
Ni de tu seno la alejes ;
Ó hará el cielo que te quejes
De mil penas en la vida."

* "La Flor de Abel." Poema moral, de Don J. A. Marquez.

But eventually she loses her flower, and wanders far and wide over the world in search of it ; passing through many dangers, for she is unprotected, and very beautiful. The bard thus describes her :—

“ Que hermosa está, dormida entre las flores
Ella, tan tierna, tan modesta flor !
Anjel de la inocencia y los amores
Pura como una lágrima de amor ! ”

At last she comes to a place where her mother was buried, and falls at the feet of an image of the virgin, in whose hand she once more beholds her lost flower of Abel ; and finally, prostrate before the altar of the queen of heaven, the spirit of Elena abandons the body, and is conducted to the skies by Abel, who recovers the mysterious flower and the pure soul of the maiden.

‘ The poem, the plot of which is original and ingenious, abounds in passages of great merit ; and when it is considered that Señor Marquez is only in his twenty-third year, we may indulge in a well-grounded hope for the regeneration of poesy in the once inspired land of the Incas.

Don Clemente Althaus is another distinguished poet and prose writer.

His works have been reviewed at length in the *Commercio* newspaper at Lima. His most remarkable prose composition, “ To a Mother,” was published in 1853. In it, a mother is supposed to be aware that her son is unhappy, but knows not how to calm his sorrow. “ His ‘ Disencanto ’ is,” says the reviewer, “ an admirable picture of the bitter desolation which seizes on

the soul, when it meditates on the awful truth of forgetfulness.

“Ah! how is it possible that two beings who once loved each other, who have a thousand times made the most ardent and sincere vows of eternal love.—How is it possible that a day should ever come in which they would meet coldly!

“What misery is greater than this instability of the heart, this our inability to perpetuate a sentiment which should be immortal!”

Besides the “Disencanto,” Señor Althaus is the author of seven poems, namely,—“A Word in the Desert,” “A Night of Solitude,” “A Song of Love,” “Canto Biblico,” “The Farewell,” “Memory,” and another.

The “Canto Biblico” resembles some of the Hebrew melodies of Byron, and has this advantage, that the Spanish is a more suitable language than the English, for the lamentations of the captives of Babylon.

But the poetry of Marquez and Althaus is surrounded by an immense quantity of maudlin trash in the shape of love ditties, which fill up the columns of the daily newspapers, and render it evident that the poetic genius of these two distinguished bards is very sparingly bestowed upon the modern Peruvians in general.

The unsettled state of the country has, to a great extent prevented the finishing touch being given to the education of the people of Peru, by European travel; and their information is principally derived from translations of English and French works. I saw a

young lady at Arequipa reading a translation of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "El tio Tom," with the deepest interest. Since the independence, Mr. Ackermann has shown great enterprise in the publication of a series of illustrated works, full of general information, for the use of the South American republics. His work in Spanish, which is still in process of publication, is called "La Colmena."

Peru, however, is not wholly destitute of books of travels, and the "Travels of Bustamante,"* is quite a standard work throughout the interior of the republic.

The author, Señor Bustamante, a gentleman of Indian extraction, and a native of the little sierra town of Pucara, was smitten a few years ago with a desire to see the world, and has since travelled through England, France, Spain, Germany, Sweden, Russia, and has even visited Jerusalem.

The result has been a book of travels, full of his own original impressions, which would ludicrously remind the English reader of Goldsmith's "Citizen of the World," or Morier's "Hajji Baba."

When in London, he went to the Spanish hotel kept by Miss Pidman, which he says was a detestable place, at an immense distance from the centre of the city, and Spanish only in name. In the evening he went to hear Jenny Lind, but was turned out for not being properly dressed; he then got into three cabs, one after the other, whose drivers, with incredible malice, all drove him in the wrong direction, and he did not get home

* *Apuntes y observaciones ; civiles, políticas, y religiosas, por el Peruano Don Juan Bustamante.* Paris, 1849.

until five in the morning.* Next day he went to London bridge to watch the traffic, and count how many people could get into an omnibus: and afterwards, going to the west-end, he beheld a splendid coach, drawn by two Arabian horses, and driven by a coachman in magnificent livery.

“Behind, there was a footman dressed in Asiatic splendour; and inside was an old woman uglier than a black beetle, more conceited than a peacock, and as comfortable as a prebendary in his capitular seat. Holy God! what an insolent and supercilious glance did this decrepid old creature cast on the passers-by.”†

Altogether, the Peruvian traveller does not appear to have been at all pleased with London; but, on the whole, his book is the most amusing and original that has appeared in Peru. He unfortunately never seems to have got into any decent society, and consequently saw everything from the outside; thus, his remarks on the manners and customs of the English, though intended to be profound and caustic, are only very ridiculous.

Let us now give a glance at that department of literature which treats of the weighty questions of theology and ecclesiastical government, and in this branch, a work, which is not only the most learned and talented that has yet appeared in the South American republics, but which would undoubtedly attract attention in any country in Europe, has lately appeared.

The author, a priest named Vigil, holds the office of librarian of the public library at Lima. He is a bold

* Pages 195-7.

† Page 199.

and sagacious scholar, of extensive learning and clear intellect.

The work is entitled—"A Defence of Governments against the Pretensions of the Court of Rome ;"* certainly a startling title for a book written by a priest of the Romish church. It boldly assails the right of the pope to publish bulls, or confirm bishops, and strengthening his arguments by appeals to the usages of antiquity, and the works of the early fathers, Señor Vigil proceeds in his attack on the whole fabric of papal aggression. He shows that in primitive times the cardinals were not the sole electors of the pope, and that Gregory the Great was elected by the clergy and the people of Rome ; and he also protests against the power arrogated by the papacy to confirm bishops in their sees.

Passing from the subject of papal aggression to reforms in the social condition of the Romish clergy, he earnestly advocates the abolition of perpetual monastic vows, and the marriage of priests. On the latter subject he is very earnest, and thus defends his opinion.

"Increase and multiply and replenish the earth, said God to our first parents. No one can deny that St. Peter was married, and among the qualities of a bishop enumerated to St. Timothy was, that he should be the husband of one wife. St. Chrysostom, commenting on this passage, says that the apostles wished to describe the order that should be kept in the matter, and to

* "Defensa de la autoridad de los Gobiernos, contra las pretensiones de la Curia Romana, por Francisco de Paula G. Vigil." Lima, 1852.

forbid the practice of the Jews who often had two wives at one time.

“ Would the parish priest be less useful if he was married ? Kind, hospitable, learned, the husband of one wife as the Scripture directs, governing his house well, and holding his children in subjection ; he would preach, not only with his word, but by his example, which is the more true and efficacious preaching.”

Señor Vigil's work is in six octavo volumes, and evidences the profound erudition and great talent of the author. It naturally attracted considerable attention, both in America, and in the Roman Catholic parts of Europe. It was not long, therefore, before the court of Rome took cognisance of a book whose tenets were so novel and alarming, and it is now honoured with a place in the *Index Expurgatorius*.

The thunders of the Vatican were then launched against the audacious priest, who, in a bull, dated June, 1851, was excommunicated, together with all who read, bought, or sold his work.

Nothing daunted by the papal frowns, Señor Vigil immediately published an epitomized edition of his book, to ensure its more extensive circulation ; and, at the same time, indited a mild reproof to his holiness, for losing his temper, which concludes with the following admonition :—

“ Unbosom yourself, most holy father, in the presence of Christ, and at the foot of the cross, where, easier than in any other place, you may learn the insignificance of human greatness. Holy father ! there is your tribunal, and there is mine. Decide then,

whether the Divine Scripture is intended to give knowledge concerning the civil rights of the holy see ; or whether it is intended to show that priests have no kingdom here, and that all their glory should be to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified. Decide this, and then decide which of these doctrines you meet with in my work."

It is worthy of notice, that a book of such a nature should, so soon after the independence, have issued from the hand of a Romish priest in Roman Catholic Peru ; and is highly significant of the reforming and enlightened spirit of the more profound thinkers in that interesting country.

Señor Vigil was among the first of those distinguished men, who, in the beginning of the century, threw off the thralldom in which it was the interest of the Spanish government to keep the minds of its colonial subjects. Another of these early liberals was the learned Dr. Luna Pizarro, who presided at the first Peruvian Congress, in 1822, and was foremost as an eloquent debater, and a vigilant assertor of the rights of the people ; but lofty preferment is apt to change the opinions of most men ; and, in after years, the Archbishop of Lima forgot the principles of the liberal Dr. Luna Pizarro.*

* Don Francisco Xavier de Luna Pizarro was born at Arequipa on the 3rd of December, 1780. His father was a colonel of militia, and his mother Doña Cipriana Araus.

In 1799 he received the tonsure, and in 1808 was appointed to the curacy of the village of Torata.

In 1822 this learned ecclesiastic became President of the first Peruvian Congress, installed by San Martin, where he displayed great patriotism and much oratorical talent. In 1825 he was again elected deputy to

The present hierarchy of Peru is composed of respectable and learned men. Among the former may be placed Don Eugenio Jara y Mendoza, Bishop of Cuzco ; Santiago Ofelan, of Ayacucho ; Pedro Ortiz, of Chachapoyas ; and Goyeneche, the enormously rich Bishop of Arequipa. Among the latter are Don Agustin Charun, Bishop of Truxillo, and the late Dr. Luna Pizarro, Archbishop of Lima. But this respectability, and this learning are far from extending, as a general rule, to the inferior clergy.

Though there are to be found, scattered throughout Peru, in secluded villages and sometimes in the larger towns, numbers of most excellent and devoted priests, it is but too certain that they form the exceptions. The inferior clergy are often ignorant and licentious, gambling and even cock-fighting are their favourite amusements, and celibacy, though enforced in theory, in practice is almost entirely unknown among them.

The tithes all go to the deans and chapters of the cathedrals ; and the parochial clergy are paid by numerous fees for burials, marriages, baptisms, and masses.

The legal profession is far more fashionable than the church, for young men of any education in Peru ; and every large town contains plenty of *abogados*, or barristers.

But the fountains of justice are fearfully polluted,

Congress ; and in 1830 became dean of the Cathedral of Lima. On the death of Fray Francisco Sales de Arrieta, in 1842, he became Archbishop of Lima, in which high position he remained until his death, on Feb. 10, 1855.

bribes are accepted by the highest functionaries without a blush, and the transaction is talked of afterwards, in the public places, as quite an ordinary occurrence; so that the due administration of the laws is a thing little known in civil causes.

Criminal justice, however, is sufficiently summary; and, in cases of murder, the culprit is tied in a chair and shot.

Minor offences are punished by penal servitude, imprisonment in disgracefully filthy prisons, and whipping.

Lately the attention of the Peruvian government has been turned to the improvement of the prisons; and Don Mariano Paz Soldan, a statesman of some eminence, has drawn up an able report on the penitentiaries of the United States, as applicable to Peru.*

He proposes to establish two reformatory prisons, one in the department of Lima, and another in that of Cuzco, with smaller places of detention in each of the provinces.

He also strongly urges the separation of the convicts, maintaining that contact with each other is productive of the greatest evil, and recommends the system of silence and solitary confinement.

The report contains plans of all the principal prisons in the United States, with full details of their regulations, and systems of management. Señor Paz Soldan is a decided convert to the solitary system, and is

* "Examen de las Penitenciarías de los Estados Unidos, por Mariano Felipe Paz Soldan." Nueva York, 1853.

anxious to introduce it into Peru. Any alteration in the prisons of the republic would be an improvement; but owing to the constant revolutions, reforms are discussed for years, before any attempt is made to carry them into effect.

The code of Peruvian laws has lately been published, under the auspices of the government of General Echenique. It is, for the most part, excellent in theory; but until time has made vast alterations in the morality of those who are entrusted with the administration of justice, the excellence of the laws will be of little avail.

The code was followed by a legal work * containing a course of lectures, which was published in 1853 by Don Jose Santistevan, who may be looked upon as the Blackstone of Peru.

Commencing with Numa Pompilius, he reviews the course of Roman legislation as it is connected with Spanish law, from which source the system of jurisprudence of modern Peru is derived. He divides his work into three parts, viz., *Personas*, *Cosas*, and *Obligaciones*. In the first he describes the relations of freemen and slaves, of masters and servants, of husbands and wives, to each other, in Peruvian law. In the second he gives an account of the law of inheritance, of which the most remarkable feature is, that natural children succeed by law to a portion of their father's property; and the third treats of the obligations of contracts and partnerships.

But the most inspiring study for the Peruvian should

* "*Derecho Peruano*," por Jose Silva Santistevan. Piura, 1853.

ever be the history of the glorious age of the Incas, their mighty deeds, beneficent rule, and the stupendous monuments of that noble race, which still cover his native soil.

A museum of ancient Peruvian curiosities was established in 1840, in two handsome rooms of the building which also contains the public library of Lima, and the school of design.* It contains a very good collection of antiquities, a few badly stuffed birds, and the portraits of all the viceroys of Peru, which were removed from the palace on the declaration of independence.

In the department of the study of the ancient history of Peru, must be mentioned the great antiquarian knowledge and deep research of Don Mariano Rivero, one of the brightest ornaments of his country.

Born of an old family in the city of Arequipa, and holding, from time to time, several high consular appointments in Europe, he has devoted much of his time to the study of the antiquities of his country, and his labours have resulted in a most interesting work entitled "*Antiquedades Peruanas*."†

Displaying great learning, and a spirit of most

* The public library was founded in August, 1821, by order of San Martin. It is open every day, excepting on festivals of the church, from 8 till noon, and from 4 to 6 P.M.

The books which formed the nucleus of the collection, were those of the library of the University of St. Mark, and those of the sequestered monasteries. In 1841 there were 26,344 works in the library, and since that time it has gradually increased. The school of design was established in the same building in 1832.

† *Antiquedades Peruanas*, por Don Mariano Rivero. Vienna.

accurate inquiry, it has already been translated into English at New York,* and will form a most valuable addition to the history of ancient Peru.

He concludes by an attempt to inspire the youth of his native land, with some of the enthusiasm with which he himself is animated.

"May this publication," he exclaims, "arouse from their lethargy Peruvian youth; may our disclosures quicken their enthusiasm, and make them understand that the very dust they tread on, palpitated, lived, felt, thought in olden times; that justice must be awarded sooner or later to each nation; that Babylon, Egypt, Greece and Rome, are not the only empires which serve as food to a generous imagination, and that at their very feet lies buried a shipwrecked civilisation.

"Happy indeed should we esteem ourselves if our labours might be crowned by seeing the wise and skilful associated under the direction of an intelligent, active, and paternal government, like that of those Children of the Sun, the Incas; and under its auspices, Peruvian civilisation rising from the dust which covers it, as Pompeii and Herculaneum, in these latter days, have come forth from the lava which for centuries has entombed them."

And that which Rivero says of the history of the Incas, when disclosed by antiquarian research; we may already say, to some extent, of modern Peruvian literature, when freed from the corrupting influence of

* *Peruvian Antiquities*, by Mariano Rivero; translated by F. L. Hawks, D.D. New York, 1853.

state anarchy, which has so long hindered all attempts at progress.

Much may assuredly be expected from the Peruvians, whose character, though debased by many of those blemishes that ever accompany a transition state of society, in which the nation is quite new to freedom of thought and action, is nevertheless possessed of many high and ennobling qualities.

When the modern literature of Peru is already adorned by the critical ability of Espinosa, the generous sentiment of Bilbao, the poetic culture of Marquez and of Althaus, the profound erudition of Vigil, and the learned enthusiasm of Rivero ; the stranger can hardly say that he has travelled from Dan to Beersheba, and found that all was barren.

And indeed the prospects of Peru are brightening day by day, and each branch of industry and education is showing signs of progress. The Inca Indians, by the wise measures of Castilla, are freed from bondage ; and the people of Spanish descent are advancing perceptibly in the arts and accomplishments of European civilisation. With many faults—and what people have not?—they are possessed in an eminent degree of all the kindlier feelings of our nature ; and, above all, their warm hospitality is most attractive, and quite unequalled in any other civilised country.

The writer of the preceding pages, undertaking a journey to Peru, solely with a view to the examination of its antiquities, and the enjoyment of its magnificent scenery ; soon found that the unaffected kindness of its warm-hearted inhabitants was even more attractive

than the deeply interesting history of the Incas ; and in conclusion he can only say, that a journey through the land of the Children of the Sun is one of the most enjoyable expeditions that can possibly be undertaken.

APPENDIX B.

SOME STATISTICS CONCERNING THE REPUBLIC OF PERU.*

SOME OF THE EXPORTS SHIPPED FROM PERU.

THE PRECIOUS METALS.

	GOLD.	SILVER.	TOTAL.
1800 . . .	75,671	879,744	£955,415
1805 . . .	79,938	876,623	956,561
1810 . . .	68,689	898,536	936,175
1815 . . .	100,456	749,048	826,199
1820 . . .	186,644	798,673	840,783
1825 . . .	80,883	162,658	163,410
1830 . . .	36,323	401,769	317,550
1835 . . .	22,079	630,016	660,045
1840 . . .			1,562,149

Commerce of Peru with Spain in 1808 worth £1,000,000

Commerce of Peru with England in 1827 „ 248,206

„ „ „ 1830 „ 368,469

„ „ „ 1836 „ 318,609

Total exports of Peru, in 1838 . . . \$8,061,993

„ „ 1840 . . . 9,741,773

QUINTALS=CWTS.

Vicuña and alpaca wool in 1838 .

31,008

1854 .

631,179 lbs. to England.

* From “Guía de Forasteros,” “Correo Peruano,” “Voz del Pueblo,” the works of Castelnau, Alison, and other sources.

Saltpetre	in 1838	129,972	
	in 1854	606,972	to England.
Sugar	in 1838	14,900	
Cotton	in 1838	30,412	
	in 1840	83,340	
Bark	in 1838	5,579	
	in 1840	2,660	
	in 1852	14,000	from La Paz.

DOZEN.

Chinchilla skins . .	in 1838	2,745	
	in 1840	2,412	
Guano.—Importation into England in 1852,		129,889	tons.
„ „ „ 1853,		123,166	„
„ „ „ 1854,		235,111	„

At 10*l*. a ton, besides the trade with the United States, and other countries. The guano trade has latterly more than doubled the Peruvian revenue.

SPIRITS RAISED ON THE COAST.

At Nasca . . .	47,000	arobas* (25 lbs.)	
Yca	12,000	„	
Lunahuana . .	3,609	„	
	62,600	in 1845.	

SUGAR.

Cañete . . .	140,000	arobas	} in 1845.
Chincha . . .	40,000	„	
Lima and Pisco	20,000	„	
Lambayeque . .	60,000	„	

This is not near the total of sugar raised on the coast.

POPULATION.

1845.

DEPARTMENTS.	POPULATION.	VALUE OF TAXES.
Amazonas . . .	61,267	18,543\$
Ancach	147,400	121,117
Arequipa . . .	118,391	102,691
Ayacucho . . .	135,201	149,885
Callao	5,742	7,824

* An arroba is equal to 25lbs.

POPULATION (1845) <i>continued</i> .		VALUE OF TAXES.
Cuzco	300,705	403,263
Huancavelica	57,268	65,347
Junin	170,430	162,592
Libertad	223,458	178,911
Lima	166,799	192,281
Moquegua	50,950	59,572
Puira	56,444	53,042
Puno	232,403	293,300
Total. . . .	1,726,458	\$1,808,368

This is, of course, exclusive of the savage tribes of the Montaña, at whose numbers it is impossible to give even an approximate estimate.

POPULATION OF LIMA.

In 1600	14,263 souls.
1700	57,284 „
1820	54,000 „
1836	54,628 „
1845	58,406 „

REVENUE—1845.

Capitation, land, and other inland taxes	1,811,287
Customs	2,132,363
Revenue	\$3,943,650

Besides the revenue derived from the sale of guano, which more than doubles the above.

DEBT.

The first English loan was negotiated in 1822, by Don Juan Garcia del Rios, one of the ministers of General San Martin, for 1,200,000*l*. Signed in London, Oct. 11, 1822.

The principal was to have been paid off in thirty years, and an interest of 6 per cent. paid in the interval.

The second loan took place in 1825, for 616,000*l*.

The two loans	£1,816,000
Accumulated interest	2,027,118
	3,843,118
Deduct interest paid on the proceeds of guano	21,200
National Debt in 1845	£3,821,918

In 1846 the Peruvian Government began to pay a little of the interest, and acknowledged a large internal debt, whose interest they also began to pay.

EXPENDITURE.

Some of the items of the expenditure of the Peruvian revenue, are as follows: in 1845,

President of the Republic	\$45,000 per annum.	
Legislative body (\$8 a day each) . .	119,272	"
Council of State	66,650	"
Office of Minister of Foreign Affairs .	21,200	"
" Interior	20,840	"
" Justice	52,230	"
" Finance	23,720	"
(Ministers have each \$7000 per ann.		
Prefects . . . 5000	"	
to 3000	")	
Museum	2,048	"
Public Library	3,040	"
Diplomatic expenses	196,250	"
Army and Navy	2,239,934	"
Expenses of Prefecture of Lima . . .	11,870	"
" " Cuzco	8,940	"
" " Ayacucho	6,972	"
" " Junin	9,560	"
" " Ancach	6,648	"
" " Libertad	9,046	"
" " Amazonas	2,532	"
" " Huancavelica	4,972	"
" " Arequipa	11,574	"
" " Moquegua	6,598	"
" " Puno	8,894	"
		In 1842.
		\$14,075
		8,948
		6,972
		8,700
		6,648
		8,846
		2,525
		4,972
		10,610
		5,498
		10,190

The whole expenditure of the Peruvian government in 1845 was \$5,963,391.

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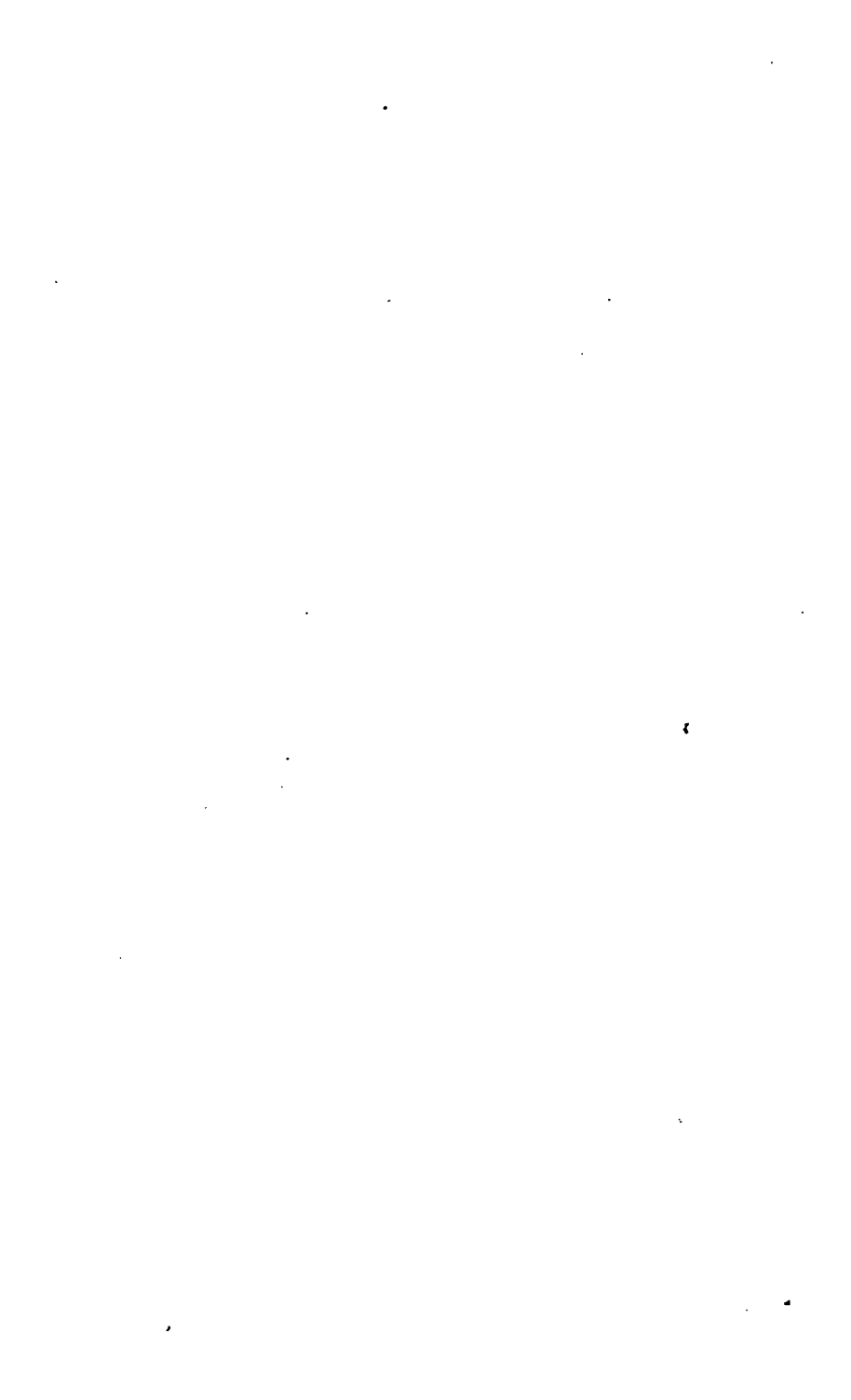
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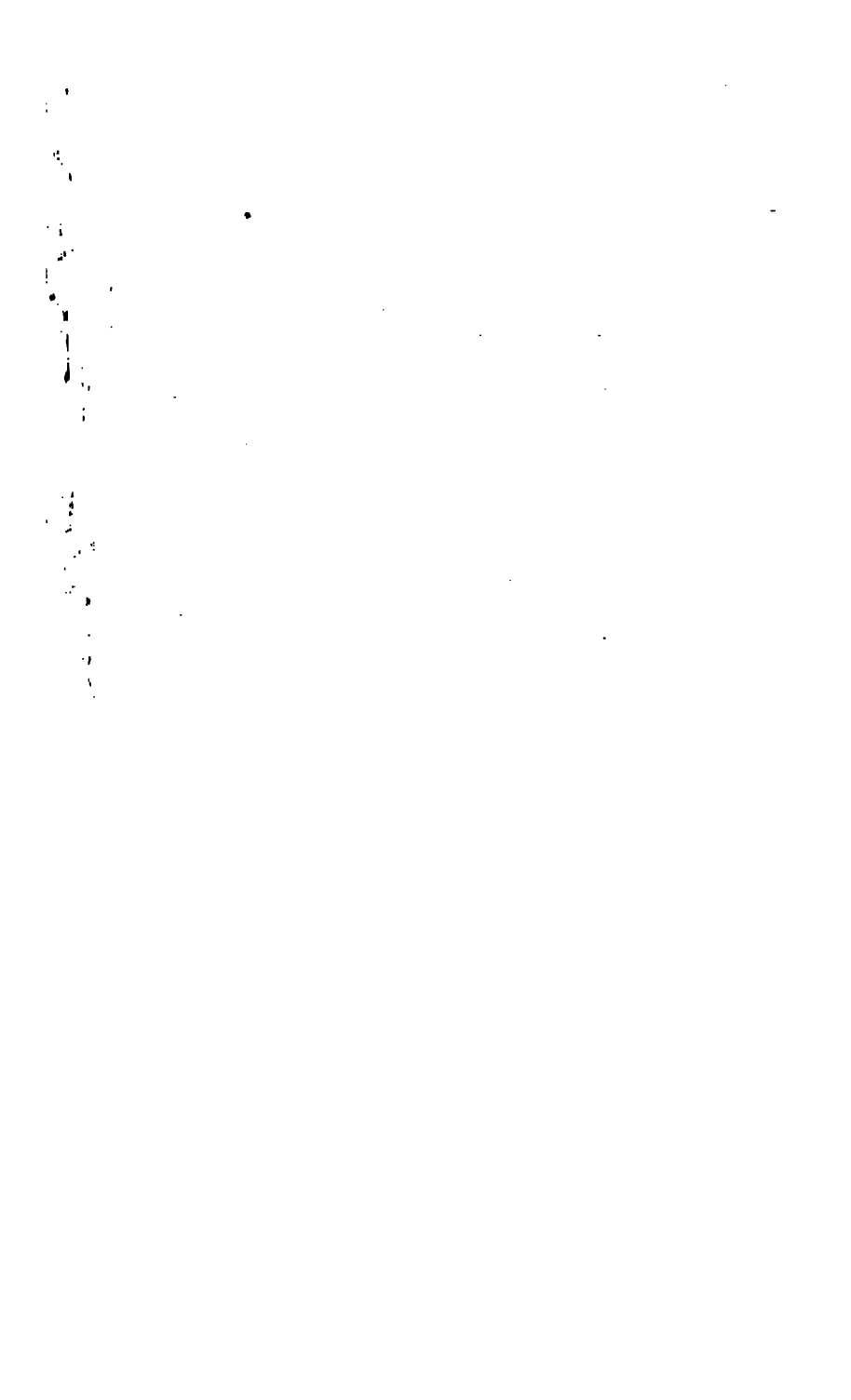
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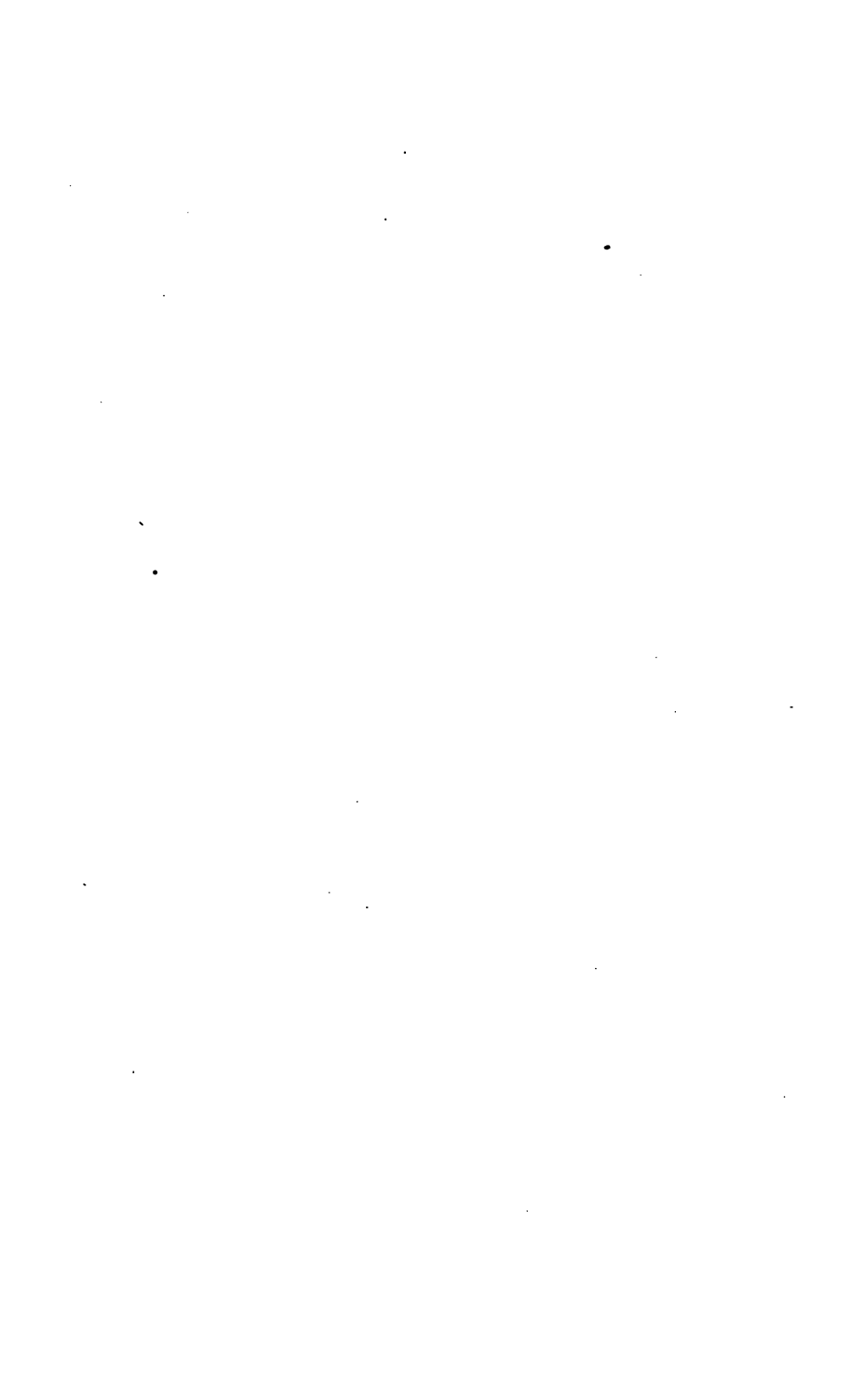
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